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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 150

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' DISCUSSES PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

HK040812 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Dec 80 p 5

[Article by Wu Daying [0702 1129 5391]: "Supervision of Governments by Parliaments in Various Countries"]

[Text] In various countries today, the work of their parliaments is to make laws and adopt the state's budget (state budgeting is also legal work but it has its own characteristics). At the same time, the parliament has the right to supervise the government. Supervising the government is a very important role played by the parliament. If the parliament does not play this role, the laws it makes will become empty talk and the government will abuse its power, act arbitrarily and have its own way.

There are three ways in which the parliament supervises the government.

1. It raises questions. According to the constitution of Yugoslavia, each delegate of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly has the right to question the federal executive council and the leading federal administrative organs, to ask these chambers to demand reports from these organs on their work, and to request special assistance in exercising his functions and powers. In France a meeting is held every week especially for members of the parliament to raise questions, which are to be answered by government officials. Members of the parliament may raise questions verbally or in writing and debate on the government's policies and statements. However, they may raise questions only in their capacity as members of the parliament and may not raise questions in the form of resolutions, and these questions are not to be put to the vote. The ministers concerned should answer these questions within 1 month. In Japan it is laid down in the rules of the Diet that when a member of the Diet wants to raise a question, he must submit a written statement on the main points of his question to the speaker of the house who, if he agrees, will forward the statement to the cabinet. The cabinet must give an answer within 7 days after receiving the statement. In Britain, according to the rules of the parliament, every day from Monday to Thursday when the parliament is in session, an hour's time is set aside for secretaries of state to answer questions raised by members of the parliament.

2. The parliament may put forward a no confidence motion. In a country which has a cabinet system, the parliament may put forward a no confidence motion if it disagrees with the policies and measures adopted by the government. When the no confidence motion is carried, the government must resign as a whole or ask the

state leader to dissolve the parliament and form a new one, which will decide whether the government should resign. For example, according to the provisions of France's constitution, after discussing the matter at a cabinet meeting, the premier should report to the National Assembly and assume responsibility for the government's administrative program or a general policy adopted by the government. The National Assembly may impeach the government and ascertain that the responsibility lies with the government. If the National Assembly adopts the no confidence motion and succeeds in impeaching the government, the premier must submit resignation of the government to the republic's president. When the government clashes with the National Assembly, the president may, after consulting the premier and the presidents of the Senate and the National Assembly, announce dissolution of the National Assembly and form a new National Assembly. According to Japan's constitution, if the cabinet does not dissolve the House of Representatives within 10 days after the House of Representatives adopts a no confidence motion or vetoes a confidence motion, the cabinet must resign as a whole.

3. The parliament investigates the activities of government organizations. This investigation does not have judicial characteristics in some countries. For example, when making investigations according to law, the working organizations and the joint working organizations of the two chambers of the Yugoslav Federal Assembly may ask for information, data and documents from the state organs, self-government bodies and working communities in order to accomplish their tasks. However, these organizations do not function as detective and judicial organs. In some other countries, the investigations conducted by the legislative organs have the nature of the powers of a judicial organ. For example, according to Italy's constitution, the two houses of parliament may conduct investigations concerning public interests. To achieve this end, these two houses may appoint commissions of their members according to the proportion of membership held by various political parties. These investigatory commissions have the powers of a judicial organ when they make investigations and studies. As another example, in the Federal Republic of Germany, the federal parliament has the right to form investigatory commissions to collect necessary evidence either openly or secretly. To produce evidence, an investigatory commission may exercise power according to some regulations for criminal lawsuits. The law courts and the administrative organs have the duty to give the investigatory commission legal and administrative assistance. The resolution adopted by the investigatory commission is exempted from examination by the law court. However, the law court is free to assess and judge the facts discovered by the investigatory commission.

Although the parliament may supervise the government in these three ways, it sometimes fails to play its entire supervisory role. However, the parliament doubtlessly may check on government activities. In fact this makes it possible to avoid overconcentration of power and to prevent the government from arrogating all authority to itself and having its own way.

CSO: 4005

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' COMMENTS ON FUNCTIONS OF BICAMERAL SYSTEM

HK040821 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Dec 80 p 5

[Article by Zhou Xinming [0719 2450 6900]: "Some Facts About the Bicameral System of Bourgeois Parliaments"]

[Text] Historically, the bicameral system originated in Britain. Later, it gradually spread to various major capitalist countries and became the most common organizational parliamentary structure in capitalist countries. Subsequently, legal circles in Western capitalist countries have spoken very highly of the bicameral system. Famous British bourgeois jurist John Bright said that the bicameral system as an organizational form is "universal and eternal." British jurist Sir Henry James Sumner Maine said that almost always, any form of a second chamber is better than none at all. The reason why people place their hopes on the second chamber is not for it to become "an infallible rival to the first chamber, but for it to become an extra safeguard." Walter Bagehot believed that "it is very useful to regard the second chamber as a legislative organ for examining errors and for leisurely deliberation."

Bourgeois jurists believe that the bicameral system has at least three advantages:

1. The two chambers act as a check and a balance to each other. Montesquieu strongly believed in this proposition. He believed that "to prevent the abuse of power, power must be restrained by power." ("The Spirit of Law," Vol 1, p 154) He commended Britain for having "a legislative organ with two chambers which act as a check and a balance to each other through their power of dissent." (ibid pp 163-164) To him, inasmuch as each has the power to act as a check, the two chambers of the legislative organ are able to restrain each other. This view exemplifies the famous theory of checks and balances. Other scholars believe that the bicameral system could resolve conflicts between the executive and legislative branches. That is, when conflicts occur, one chamber of the bicameral legislative acts as the arbitrator. It does not only mediate, but could also play a decisive role. Leon Duguit, in his famous work "On Constitution," said that the rationale behind having two chambers was one chamber represented individuals while the other represented social or professional groups. The two chambers respectively accommodated various social forces. Thus, they serve as a buffer to enable various forces controlling the society to adjust to each other. If one force was growing too rapidly, it could be slowed down; and if another force had been growing too slowly, its pace could be accelerated.

2. The bicameral system could prevent hasty legislation. Some jurists are of the opinion that under a unicameral system, a bill only has to pass through the deliberation of one organ. Thus, it is naturally less thoroughly examined than one that has to pass the deliberation of two chambers. They believe that the second chamber's concurrence with a bill passed by the first chamber enhances the stability of law, and that the stability of law guarantees social stability. On the other hand, if one chamber disagrees with the other, it could restrain the other chamber. Mutual faultfinding between the two chambers forces the legislators to take a prudent approach.

3. It accommodates special interests and is able to recruit experts. Some scholars proposed that if one chamber represents public opinion, the other chamber should represent experts with practical experience. If one chamber is the chamber of the people, the other chamber should be the chamber of the statesmen. They believe that particularly in a federal state, there must be a chamber representing the whole country which represents the people by ratio of population and another chamber representing the federated states, regardless of their size and with equal representative rights for each state. If there is no second chamber which represents the special interests of individual states, then the federal system will be undermined in practice. They also feel that in a country, there are usually people who are particularly competent in public affairs but who, due to various reasons, could not campaign for a public position. Moreover, there are usually not many experts in parliament, and even if there are, they are usually preoccupied with political campaigns, leaving no time to conduct thorough studies on legislation concerning various economic and social problems. Thus, a second chamber must be established in order to recruit experts who are knowledgeable and who have practical experience to undertake studies on various problems.

With regard to the above advantages of the bicameral system, some bourgeois scholars hold different views. Their main point is that having a bicameral system is tantamount to recognizing two sovereigns in a state. They said: "If the second chamber differs with the first chamber, it becomes a harmful obstacle, while if it agrees with the first chamber, it becomes an unnecessary nuisance." In short, they deny the need for check and balance between the two chambers of parliament. Yet, although some people oppose the bicameral system for various reasons, looking at it from experience, the bicameral system has become the most popular system among the major capitalist countries. In French history, more than 10 constitutions were promulgated in a span of a century, but the unicameral system was adopted only twice (in 1791 and 1848). During the "republican" period, Britain also adopted the unicameral system for a while, but the abolished House of Lords was revived shortly after. Although there were no nobles in the United States, during the constitutional convention in 1781, all the participants, with the exception of Franklin, supported the adoption of a bicameral system. We all know that the Yugoslav Federal Assembly also has two chambers. The assembly is composed of the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Nationalities (also called the Chamber of Republics and Provinces).

Bourgeois bicameral parliaments have a history of at least 700 years since the first British "parliament" appeared during the 13th century. During all these years, although some countries had adopted the unicameral at one time or another, in the end, they all adopted the bicameral system.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

TWO FOREIGNERS STABBED IN BEIJING BY MENTAL PATIENT

OW191230 Beijing XINHUA in English 1220 GMT 19 Nov 80

[Text] Beijing, 19 Nov (XINHUA)--Two members of an Australian business mission, who were knifed by a young Chinese man in Beijing on Monday, are recovering well and are expected to leave the hospital in a few days, a surgeon at the Capital Hospital said today.

They are Walter James Howarth, 46, technical director of the Australian Mineral Development Laboratory (AMDEL), and Keith John Henley, 40, manager of the Geological Division of AMDEL. Mr Henley is British. The two men are part of a delegation here to discuss ore processing.

The assailant, He Lianyong, 26, is a schizophrenic, say psychiatrists at Beijing's Anding Psychiatric Hospital, where his illness was diagnosed in 1975.

The attack took place at about 4:30 on Monday afternoon when Mr Howarth and Mr Henley were waiting for their car outside the Nationalities Hotel in central Beijing.

The young man attacked them from behind, first stabbing Mr Howarth in the head and then stabbing Mr Henley twice in the head. He tried to flee but was caught and overpowered by two taxi drivers.

The injured men were taken to a nearby hospital for first-aid treatment and then transferred to the Capital Hospital where they were admitted. Mr Howarth was suffering from a scalp wound 6 cm long and Mr Henley had received scalp wounds 2 cm and 9 cm long.

Su Changbao, a surgeon at the Capital Hospital, said today the wounds were not infected and "if things go on smoothly they will be discharged in a few days, after the stitches have been removed."

Beijing Municipal People's Government said today it is to call for discussions on the control of mentally ill people. The assailant has been working at the Beijing February Seventh Rolling Stock Plant, despite his previous history.

The psychiatrists from Anding Hospital, who were present when He Lianyong was questioned by the police, said his behaviour indicates he is still suffering from schizophrenia.

CSO: 4020

PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG PAPER REPORTS INDICTMENT OF GANG OF FOUR, ASSOCIATES

HK191022 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 19 Nov 80 pp 1, 2

[Special dispatch by TA KUNG PAO contributing reporter Chun Iau from Beijing on 18 November: "Scenes of the 10 Accused Receiving Their Indictment Were Filmed-- Jiang Qing Wanted Someone to Speak for Her; While Zhang Chunqiao 'Refused to be Indicted'"]

[Text] Eight days ago, the 10 accused including Jiang Qing received their indictment from the Special Procuratorial Office. They each showed different expressions and gave different reactions.

The indictment was sent to the 10 accused in the Qingcheng prison on 10 November. The whole process was filmed by the central television station on the spot. According to a friend who has seen part of the film, the 10 accused were escorted one by one by bailiff into an office to receive their indictment. Two office desks were placed at one end of the office and two clerks from the Special Procuratorial Office were sitting behind the two desks. The accused were brought before the two clerks and either stood or sat not far in front of the two desks. Microphones were placed before the clerks and the accused. The clerks first stated that they were sent by the Special Procuratorial Office to deliver the indictment and then announced the decision of the NPC Standing Committee on setting up a special procuratorial office through the Supreme People's Procuratorate and a special court through the Supreme People's Court to try the case concerning the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. A bailiff then handed the indictment to the accused and the accused signed a receipt on another office desk placed beside the accused. The next step was that the clerks asked the accused whether or not they wanted to commission a defense lawyer. If they wanted a defense lawyer, they could write a letter of commission and it would be delivered by the Special Procuratorial Office on their behalf. Finally, after the clerks announced the regulations of the special court, the accused were escorted back to their cells.

According to informed sources, the first of the accused to be escorted into the office was Wang Hongwen. This man had built himself up through beating, smashing and looting. Though he once usurped a high position in the CCP Central Committee, he had in fact always been a hatchet man whom Jiang Qing could summon anytime she wanted. He is the youngest among the 10 accused and is now 45. He was wearing a faded blue uniform and a cloth cap. The cap was pulled down close to his eyebrows and his face was filled with a gloomy expression. With knitted brows and lowered head, he stood stiffly before the microphone as though he was listening

with rapt attention to the clerks reading aloud the relevant documents. When the clerks asked him whether he wanted to commission someone to defend him, he answered no. This man was comparatively willing to confess his crimes during the preliminary trial.

The Literary Prostitute Yao Wenyuan Has Had His Head Shaved; He Looked Disturbed and Kept on Blinking His Eyes

It was Yao Wenyuan after Wang Hongwen. This literary prostitute, whom Jiang Qing called the "golden stick," was a ruffian who killed people with his pen. The articles in the past years which framed up charges against Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, Wu Han, Zhou Yang and the "three-family village" were all either written or modified and finalized by him. He is now 49 years old. He was wearing a black suit and has had his head shaved. He is fat and stout and there was a beard on his cheeks--it seemed that he had not shaved his beard. His face was filled with a cunning look and he stood there feeling very disturbed, blinking his eyes all the time. When the clerks asked him whether he wanted to commission someone to defend him, he hesitated for a while before he said that he had never thought about the question. He said he had no knowledge of such a thing and that he did not know how his case would be defended. He kept on saying that he should be given time to think it over. This man had a blig tongue before Jiang Qing during the past years; but now he has become very clumsy in expressing himself.

The third one escorted into the office was Zhang Chunqiao. This man had once always wanted to become the premier; and he was a careerist who had constantly borne in mind the thought of changing the dynasty during the cultural revolution. He is now 63 and was wearing a black suit. He was bareheaded and was wearing a pair of spectacles. He looked thin and pallid and wore a long face, with his mouth tightly shut. He stood there silently as though he would not listen to anything. When the clerks asked him whether he wanted to commission a defense lawyer, he went so far as to say that he refused to be indicted.

Jiang Qing Spoke in a Pretentious Manner; Her Neck Was Full of Flaccid Muscles and She Made an Effort to Appear Composed

The last of the "gang of four" escorted into the office was Jiang Qing. This woman, who had dreamed of becoming "empress dowager the second," was still showing her qualities as a female hooligan. She is now 67 years old. She wore a pair of spectacles and a suit of black clothes, with a black cotton shawl on top. Her face and neck were full of flaccid muscles and yet she was standing there trying to look coquettish and pretending as though nothing had happened. When the clerks asked her whether she wanted to commission a defense lawyer, she said with her usual husky voice and a sloppy intonation that she would like someone to speak for her because she was in ill health. She might not be able to speak and would therefore like to have someone speak for her.

Jiang Tengjiao [literally: soaring dragon] Has Become a Feeble Snake; Wu Faxian Appeared With a Dull Look

The fifth one was Jiang Tengjiao. This man is now 61. He is short and has gray hair. He looked very miserable and was wearing a gray uniform. His appearance did not match his name at all. He did not have the appearance of a "valiant

military officer." When he was asked the question whether he wanted a lawyer, he said he trusted the court and did not want a defense lawyer.

Next came Wu Faxian. This man once called himself a lackey of Lin Biao; and he lauded his young master Lin Ligu as a "super-genius." The man is short and fat and had a dull look in his eyes. There was a thin patch of grizzled hair at the back of his head; and the flaccid muscles in his neck almost filled up the hollow space between his head and his chest. He is now 65 and he was wearing a coat and a pair of pants of a different color. He stated that he did not need a defense lawyer. He received the indictment and requested to have a copy of the court regulations and took it with him before he was escorted back to his cell.

Huang Yongsheng Requested to be Seated; He Was Dumb as a Wooden Chicken and His Response Was Slow

The seventh one escorted into the office was Qiu Huizuo, former director of the PLA General Logistics Department. During the 10 years of great calamities, the General Logistics Department set up its own private prison and extorted confessions by torture. It had framed up charges against some 400 people. The man is now 66. He is thin and tall and was wearing an old uniform. His face was thin and dry and he just stood there silently with his head half-lowered. He also said that he did not need a defense lawyer.

The eighth one was Huang Yongsheng; This man ranked first among Lin Biao's "four great warrior attendants" (Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo) and was especially fond of and trusted unduly by Lin Biao. He is now 70 and he was wearing a green military uniform. He is tall but was somehow very weak. It was said that he had just recovered from an illness. After standing for a while, he asked for a wooden bench and sat down. He also said that he did not need a defense lawyer. People have seen his photograph arm-in-arm intimately with Ye Qun on the Great Wall. At that time, he was immensely proud; but this time he was dumb as a wooden chicken and was slow in response. When the clerks told him that he might leave, he was nevertheless at a loss and sat there and did not move. It was not until the bailiff urged him that he stood up and was escorted away.

Chen Boda and Li Zuopeng received their indictment in another room. Chen Boda is now 76 and is in fact the oldest among the accused. This man called himself a "petty, ordinary person" during the cultural revolution. He was a queer man. He was short, fat, pale and bareheaded and walked with difficulty. A seat was arranged for him in the room and there was also a small desk. When he was asked whether he wanted to have a defense lawyer, he answered with a shrill voice in Fujian dialect that he had not thought about the question.

There Was a Fierce Look on Li Zuopeng's Face; Zhang Chunqiao Refused to Accept the Indictment

Li Zuopeng was the last one to receive the indictment. He is now 66, tall and was wearing a suit. His hair was dark gray and he looked ugly and ferocious. He knitted his brows throughout and there was a fierce look on his face. As soon as he entered the room, he sat down on the seat and put his hands on the small desk in front of him. He stated that he did not need a defense lawyer. When the

clerks read the court regulations to him, he said he could not hear them clearly nor could he remember them. He requested that he be given one copy of all the documents read to him.

Among the 10 accused, only Zhang Chunqiao did not accept the indictment. However, this should not hinder in any way the process of their trial.

The special court has made full preparations for the trial. The trial will be carried out in a balanced way in two courts--each trying five of the accused. During the trial, a large amount of crime evidence will be produced and the relevant witnesses will be called. New uniforms have also been made for the judges, judicial officers and procurators. This is the largest trial since the establishment of New China and it has in fact attracted world attention. From the trial, the people will be able to see true records of the countless crimes committed by the counterrevolutionary clique. At the same time, we hope the special court will pass the proper verdicts on those criminals.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'TA KUNG PAO' SUPPLIES BACKGROUND OF DEFENDANTS IN LIN-JIANG TRIAL

HK190556 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 19 Nov 80 p 2

[Special dispatch by TA KUNG PAO contributing reporter Chun Tsu: "Before the Trial Opens"]

[Text] Beijing, 18 Nov--All 10 Culprits Detained in Qincheng Prison

The special court of the Supreme People's Court will soon open its trial of the case of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. Starting on 15 November, XINHUA News Agency has been releasing daily reports on the contents of the indictment. Undoubtedly, this is a sign that the trial is about to open officially.

Those who will appear in court to face trial include Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and eight other defendants. These 10 defendants have been detained in the Qincheng prison located in the suburb of Beijing all along. Chen Boda has been imprisoned for more than 10 years; Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo have been in prison for more than 9 years; while the "gang of four" have been locked up for more than 4 years.

The "Eminent" Positions of the 16 Principal Culprits

One look at the list of 16 principal culprits in the cliques is enough to terrify people. Among the 16, 13 had been members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee; 3 had been party vice chairmen, namely: Lin Biao, Kang Sheng and Wang Hongwen; 2 had been Standing Committee members of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee; namely: Zhang Chunqiao and Chen Boda; 1 had been vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee--Kang Sheng; 2 had been vice premiers of the state council, namely: Zhang Chunqiao and Xie Fuzhi; 1 had been chief of the general staff of the PLA--Huang Yongsheng; 3 had been deputy chiefs of the general staff, namely: Wu Faxian (concurrently commander of the air force, Li Zuopeng (concurrently first political commissar of the navy) and Qiu Huizuo (concurrently director of the General Logistics Department). These people are all traitors who brought great calamity to the country and who had infiltrated the CCP and the Chinese Government for many years.

These people ascended the top level of the organs of power of the party and government during the 10 years of "great cultural revolution." They controlled great power in the party, government, military, financial and cultural sectors and did

whatever they pleased in defiance of all laws. At that time, only Premier Zhou Enlai could restrain their evildoings a little within the limits of his ability. This group of people had tried to use the disaster of the "cultural revolution" to "overthrow the regime" in China in order to establish a feudal fascist dynasty and become the emperor or empress and founders of the Lin or Jiang dynasty. The calamity created by these people affected the whole country. Those who were directly or indirectly persecuted by them number almost 100 million. Such a serious calamity can rarely be found in the history of China and of other countries of the world. Therefore, all 1 billion Chinese people are of the opinion that they ought to die. However, the NPC Standing Committee still decided to charge them according to law and subject them to public trial. Furthermore, they will only be made to account for their criminal offenses while the errors they committed in their work and in their line will be dealt with separately. This is an important effort on the part of China to enforce the rule of law.

Among the 16 principal culprits, Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi require special mention. The true features of these two persons were only exposed recently. The CCP Central Committee has issued special documents on the crimes of these two. These documents are being circulated among the party members and masses.

The People Are Filled With Righteous Indignation About the Monstrous Crimes of Kang, Xie

The roles of Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi in the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques was by no means minor. Kang Sheng was the No 1 villainous adviser of this clique [as published]. His position was higher than Zhang Chunqiao. Jiang Qing was under his tutelage during her early years and he had been her principal political patron. This fellow was not only good at manufacturing counterrevolutionary fallacies such as the "criticism of the doctrine of primary of productive forces," the theory that "classes and class struggle still exist in the entire historical period of socialism" and the "determination of class status by political attitude," but also at fabricating false charges, making up false cases and framing good people. Many cases of miscarriage of justice involving a great number of people during the cultural revolution, such as the case of the "New Mongol People's Party," were his masterpieces. On 21 January 1968, he even accused Yunnan Provincial CCP Committee Secretary Zhao Jianmin (incumbent deputy minister of the Third Ministry of Machine Building) of being a traitor in the latter's presence at the Jingxi guesthouse. What evidence did he have? He said, based on his 40 years of revolutionary experience, he had a sensitivity. He then arrested Zhao right then and there. There were numerous similar incidents.

During the period of the "cultural revolution," Xie Fuzhi was a vice premier and concurrently the minister of public security. He had the power of life and death over people. Therefore, he indulged in torturing and interrogation to make people confess and in making up false cases. There had been numerous revolutionary cadres and ordinary people who were framed and killed by the partnership and close collaboration of Kang Sheng and [words indistinct] counterrevolutionary clique. They were only good at framing people and extracting confessions by torture and interrogation and seeking reward and promotion.

These two fellows and their wives (Cao Yiou is a Standing Committee member of the Fifth NPC and has not been removed from that post while Liu Xiangping was once the

minister of health) were such good partners. Cao and Liu also made their contributions to the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques' framing and persecution of cadres and masses, breaking up and bringing disaster to many families. The broad masses of people and cadres deeply hate these two couples. Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi have already been expelled from the party, yet people feel that it is a shame that their crimes have not been completely exposed and criticized. The forthcoming trial will not look into the legal responsibility of their crimes because they have already died. Inasmuch as the criminal law has such a stipulation, the indignant people will have to suppress their fury.

Jiang Tengjiao Was the Commander of the Operation to Assassinate Chairman Mao

The background of another principal culprit, Jiang Tengjiao, is unfamiliar to overseas readers. Who is he? What were his serious crimes that include him in the ranks of the principal culprits? This person was originally the air force political commissar of the PLA Nanjing units and he was one of the principal culprits in the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique's conspiracy to assassinate Chairman Mao Zedong. In February 1971, after Lin Biao sent his son Lin Ligu to Shanghai to organize the so-called "joint fleet" and drew up the plan for a counter-revolutionary military coup, the "571 project," Lin Ligu was assigned to go to Shanghai to organize a leading core to implement this coup plot. Jiang Tengjiao was included in that group. In early September 1971, after Lin Biao's counter-revolutionary conspiracy was leaked, Lin Ligu started making detailed plans to assassinate Chairman Mao at a secret base in Beijing. Lin Tengjiao was again appointed the first line commander in the Shanghai area. According to the plans, they intended to seize an opportunity in Suzhou or Shanghai to assassinate Chairman Mao Zedong. Therefore, Jiang Tengjiao was the chief commander of the conspiracy to kill Chairman Mao Zedong. On 11 September 1971, Lin Biao was about to flee southward to Guangzhou and establish another central committee. Jiang Tengjiao was also included in the list of people to be evacuated to the south. Therefore, this person is by no means a minor character in the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique. Moreover, he has committed a great crime. It is not surprising that he is named as a principal culprit.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

JIANG QING'S 26 NOVEMBER COURT APPEARANCE

HK290152 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 28 Nov 80 p 2

[Contributing article by Chen Lin: "Comments on Jiang Qing's 'I Don't Know'"]

[Text] The 26th of November was the seventh day of the trial of the important case involving the Lin-Jiang cliques. It was also the day which attracted people's greatest attention.

Through satellite relay by "TVB" and "RTV," Hong Kong's two television stations, people could see from the special news report of the Beijing Central Television Station that the witch Jiang Qing, who had brought extremely serious calamities to the Chinese people, was still trying to put up a deathbed struggle in the solemn court. She was both ferocious and cunning and gave an extremely ugly performance.

The aim of the trial is to investigate the crimes of the "gang of four" in slandering and persecuting party and state leaders as well as in usurping party and state power. When Zeng Hanzhou, chief judge of the first tribunal of the special court, interrogated the chief criminal Jiang Qing and asked what they had secretly talked about on the evening of 17 October 1974 when she summoned her sworn followers Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen to building No 17 at Diaoyutai, the witch first pretended to be calm and flatly denied the event. Next, she acted shamelessly and consecutively answered three times "I don't know." Jiang Qing, who had committed the most vicious crimes, thought that she would be able to escape the net of justice simply by flatly denying everything, and all her crimes seemed to have ceased to exist. This was really too ridiculous.

Jiang Qing's monstrous lies were laid bare in just a few minutes later by the testimony of her confederate and other witnesses. In front of Jiang Qing, her confederate Wang Hongwen testified that on the evening of 17 October 1974, it had been Jiang Qing who summoned Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen to building No 17 at Diaoyutai to hold a sinister meeting, who took the lead in plotting to frame up charges against Premier Zhou and Deng Xiaoping, who wanted Wang Hongwen to go to Changsha to see Chairman Mao Zedong and frame up charges against Premier Zhou and Deng Xiaoping as well as conspired to stop Deng Xiaoping from taking up the post of first vice premier.

The testimony by Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng further exposed that despite the fact the Wang Hongwen was rebuffed in Changsha in their attempt to frame up false charges, the "gang of four" headed by Jiang Qing still did not drop their vicious

idea. They had wanted to make use of Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng in a second attempt to frame up false charges. On 18 October 1974, Jiang Qing summoned Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng to building No 10 at Diaoyutai, where she unscrupulously slandered that the leaders of the state council "often established ties with each other under the pretext of discussing work." She said that "the premier was very busy even in the hospital and was not really recuperating. Xiaoping, the premier and Marshal Ye were of the same gang and the premier was their boss behind the scene." Jiang Qing also asked the dog-head staff officer Zhang Chunqiao to make a report of the so-called current situation and they compared the Political Bureau meeting on 17 November to the "February counter-current." They would only be satisfied with the down of all the revolutionaries of the older generation. When the demand by the "gang of four" was rejected by Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng, Jiang Qing still insisted on their reporting to Chairman Mao once more. We can thus see that throughout the vicious conspiratorial activities to usurp party and state power, Jiang Qing was the chief instigator. However, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen can hardly evade their criminal responsibilities--especially Zhang Chunqiao, who had always dreamed about "changing the dynasty."

In the face of the testimony by her confederate and the witnesses, the witch Jiang Qing showed her original colors. She felt as though she was sitting on a bed of nails and was later escorted down the defendant's dock like a stray cur.

The chief judge of the tribunal finally announced that the accused Jiang Qing's refusal to answer questions or denials had been put on record. Nevertheless, with all the reliable exhibits and testimony by the witnesses and her confederate Wang Hongwen in confrontation with the accused, the fact was that there were numerous and ample evidence; and the court had completed its investigation.

People could see from the television that the trial and investigation was very serious and it had upheld the principle of taking both the points of facts and the points of law as the basis. Before the conclusion of the trial of the case, the special court neither found the accused guilty, nor acquitted the accused as not guilty. Jiang Qing's shameless denials were all put on record. However, it does not matter whether the two poisonous snakes Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao were rendered speechless or they made flat denials in the court, the final decisions of the court will not be affected. This is because the Chinese courts attach importance to evidence and not testimony and convict people of their crimes based on facts. It is stipulated in the PRC law of criminal procedures: "Even without the testimony of the accused, the accused may be found guilty and punished according to the criminal law when there are ample, reliable evidence." The fact that Zhang Chunqiao refused to accept a copy of the indictment and that Jiang Qing flatly denied everything has demonstrated that they are a gang of incorrigibly stubborn arch usurpers of state power. They do not have the courage to face the trial by the 900 million people.

Some people are worried that the "gang of four" will be dealt with leniently because Article 9 of the PRC "criminal law" stipulates the principle of giving a "comparatively lenient treatment" when there is a difference between the new and old criminal codes. However, the "criminal law" at the same time specifically stipulates that "those who cause particularly serious harm to the state and the people, and whose crimes are particularly vicious, may be sentenced to death."

The serious harm the "gang of four" has done to the Chinese people and their vicious crimes are all unprecedented; and there is absolutely a legal basis for punishing them by death. There is no such question as having no appropriate law to follow.

The "gang of four" ran amuck for 10 years and committed all manner of crimes. The Chinese people had watched and loathed the towering crimes committed by them. Jiang Qing may say "I don't know" ten thousand times in broad daylight. However, the people throughout the country know very well how they cruelly slaughtered the loyal and innocent people. The quibble and stubborn resistance by Jiang Qing and her clique will only arouse the people's great hatred and speed up their own destruction.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

LAW AUTHORITY EXPLAINS FOREIGN EXCLUSION FROM LIN-JIANG TRIAL

HK200138 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO WEEKLY SUPPLEMENT No 751 in English 20-26 Nov 80 p 1

[Article by Beijing correspondent]

[Text] On 10 November, the 10 members of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques were served the bill of indictment and asked if they wanted defense lawyers. The event took place in the town of Qincheng, about 50 km north of Beijing, where the 10 were held in custody. Their reactions:

Wang Hongwen, 45, dressed in faded blue cotton uniform and with a cap pulled down to his eyebrows, said simply 'no', meaning he doesn't need a defense lawyer.

Yao Wenyuan, in black cotton uniform, bald and unshaven, hesitated before saying he had not given thought to the question, he didn't know anything about court trials or in what way his case could be defended and that he would have to think about the matter.

Zhang Chunqiao, 61, dressed in black cotton uniform, hair shaved, said that he did not accept the indictment.

Jiang Qing, 67, in black cotton uniform, asked someone to speak for her (at the trial) as she was not in good health.

Inside the special court, the national emblem will be hung in the center, according to RENMIN RIBAO. Underneath the emblem will be the bench. The dock with iron railings will be in front of the bench.

The verdict to be passed at the end of the trial will be decided by majority vote among the judges. At least one judge and one defense lawyer are from Taiwan Province, an informed source said. Taiwan is also represented in the public gallery.

In an interview with a law authority by this correspondent, the conversation was as follows:

Question: The trial is a focus of world attention. Why is it that foreigners are not allowed to hear the trial?

Answer: Why should they be? A Chinese trial does not have to be heard by foreigners, especially if the case is a major one tried by a special court and the vast amount of state secrets involved. Will it do to have foreigners present?

Question: I understand that the public gallery is limited to 800 people. Why should there be this limitation if the trial is a public one?

Answer: The special court allows not more than 900 people in the public gallery. Some 400 odd people will hear the trial in each of the first and second tribunals. The post war trial of war criminals in Tokyo only allowed 200 odd people in the public gallery. Our allowance of 400 odd people is twice as many as the Tokyo trial. And don't forget those who sit in the public gallery will be representatives of all sections of the population.

Question: Doubts have been expressed abroad regarding the judicial fairness of appointing victimized persons as judge, in any case, such appointments should be avoided. Why were Jiang Hua and Wu Xiuquan who were persecuted by Lin Biao and the gang of four appointed president and vice president of the special court?

Answer: The cultural revolution was a disaster in China in which no one was directly or indirectly unhurt by Lin Biao and the gang of four. To try to avoid people who were hurt (to be court presidents) would be tantamount to asking Jiang Qing to pass judgment on herself or asking the ghost of Lin Biao to pass judgment on Jiang Qing.

Question: People familiar with English and American laws have doubts about the phrasing of "usurping the party and state." They don't think usurping the party and the state should be mentioned in the same breath and raised in the same charge.

Answer: China has her own laws. We can only judge the case on the basis of Chinese laws. This is why usurping the party and the state are mentioned in the same breath. People outside do not understand the conditions that exist in China. In China, the communist party is the party in power. It would be impossible to usurp the state without usurping the party. It is absolutely necessary to first usurp the party before usurping the state. The two are linked together.

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PARTY AND STATE

GUANGZHOU PEOPLE CALL FOR JIANG QING'S DEATH

HK011140 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 30 Nov 80 p 1

[Newsletter from Guangzhou by correspondent Lan Ching-Chung: "Everyone in Guangzhou Says Jiang Qing Must be Put to Death"]

[Text] In the past few days, people throughout Guangzhou have been greatly agitated by the unskillful performances of Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao at court and said that: "It is necessary to kill Jiang Qing in order to please the people," and "the people will not be pacified if Jiang and Zhang are not put to death." A person of the law circles said: The attitude of a criminal, who deserves death penalty, in pleading guilty has an effect on whether the sentence will be suspended or not.

In the wake of the progress of the trial, the people who had suffered during the 10-year catastrophe were greatly annoyed by the shameless acts of these major culprits. An observant person of the upper levels has once made a clear analysis and believes that Jiang Qing would not be put to death immediately. The grounds supporting his analysis were: the crimes which Jiang Qing committed certainly deserve the death penalty. However, China still has more work to do in order to eliminate all historical shadows. Jiang Qing had usurped a high position and had a thousand and one links. Can the country deal with all this at one time? Currently, when he saw the arrogant performance of Jiang Qing and heard her "I don't know," he could not help asking himself: What is the point of keeping Jiang Qing alive?

This reporter heard from a person of the Beijing film circles say that: One day, when a photographer of the Central Newsreels and Documentary Films Production, who always shot documentary films inside the Zhongnanhai, was shooting pictures at Jiang Qing's pre-trial, smiling and grimacing, Jiang Qing greeted him: "Xiao X, have received a recent promotion assignment? If not, I can recommend you to XXX (note: responsible person of the Central Newsreels and Documentary Production)." This "fantastic story" left us not knowing whether to laugh or cry. Meanwhile, it reminded us of the posturing of Jiang Qing in front of the cameras at the court. A person of the literary and art circles profoundly said: Jiang Qing was still in her sweet dream of being the empress when she stepped into the historical court. Did she only want to arouse public indignation? In the statements of the Lin Biao clique concerning the "571" coup d'etat conspiracy, it was said that: "Lin Biao has occupied a superior position where state power is concerned." This is of course a miscalculation by an ambitious man. But today Jiang Qing is still

alive and can we deny the fact that Jiang Qing is still ambitious? The counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin and Jiang had been painstakingly going about their business for more than 10 years before they were imprisoned for 4 years. How could she not but make use of a few shoots to "cast amorous farewell glances" to the spirit of the counterrevolutionary forces? He sighed and continued: When history sounded the death knell of the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin and Jiang, it, in the meantime, sounded to us the alarm of "be thorough in exterminating evil."

Lin Biao wanted to set up another central committee in Guangzhou in accordance with his plot, and Jiang Qing had directed her dream of "empress of the red capital" in Guangzhou as well. Their evil sabotaged the country, and they persecuted the people during the 10-year catastrophe, and thousands and millions of Guangdong families also lived in hardship. However, justice has a long arm. The people have always been waiting to see the end of Jiang Qing's gang. People were happy when they heard of the trial of the 10 culprits. Since the trial was televised, a "full house" was found in every house where there was a television set, some people even watched from the windows outside the houses. There were only a few people on the streets around half past seven, and not many people went for the late show at the cinemas. On 25 November, Jiang Qing had been scheduled to be brought to trial at the court (later changed to 26 November), people thought they could watch it on the television. Thus, the cinemas became even emptier. Taking only the news cinema into account, the number of spectators was reduced by more than 400. Many young people also gave up their dates. In the past few days, rumors of "Jiang Qing should be put to death" were heard everywhere. A military officer of the Guangzhou PLA unit told this reporter that: The PLA unit watched the trial of Jiang Qing on the television on 26 November and became very furious. Many of them held that: Jiang Qing has committed such serious crimes, and yet she is still so arrogant. The people will only be pleased when she is sentenced to death.

This reporter talked with a dependent of a person who had been cruelly prosecuted during the great cultural revolution and asked about her feelings. She straightforwardly said: This is an unprecedented case of sabotaging the country and persecuting the people in history. If the major culprits are not sentenced to death and serious hidden dangers are not eliminated, we will be ashamed to pray to the spirits of the deceased and we will be unable to pacify the hatred of millions of millions of dependents of the deceased. Honestly speaking: "I won't feel good at heart either."

People are anticipating the death of Jiang Qing.

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PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON GANG'S PLOTTING, WANG'S CHANGSHA TRIP

HK280930 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Nov 80 p 7

[Article by RENMIN RIBAO reporter Ji Xichen [4764 1585 2525], Lin Gang [2651 6921] and Lu Nan [7627 0539]: "Circumstances Surrounding the False Accusations in Changsha--First in a Series of Sidelights on the First Tribunal of the Special Court"]

[Text] Conspiracy, conspiracy... During the "great cultural revolution," the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques cooked up one conspiracy after another.

The false accusations made in Changsha was one among the "gang of four's" many conspiracies.

On 24 and 26 November 1980, the first tribunal opened hearing on this conspiracy.

Jiang Qing Was the Mastermind

At 0900 on 26 November, defendant Jiang Qing was brought to the courtroom by two female bailiffs.

Sitting in the dock, Jiang Qing's actions were clumsy and her face was expressionless. It seems that she has not awakened from her dream of becoming an empress.

The chief prosecutor Zeng Hanzhou asked her: I ask you this question: Is it not true that on the night of 17 October 1974, you called Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen to a meeting in building No 17 of Diaoyutai to draw up secret plans? What did the four of you plot?

Jiang Qing denied: I do not know.

The chief prosecutor asked: Was Wang Hongwen's second trip to Changsha part of your plot?

Jiang Qing shook her head and did not answer.

The chief prosecutor announced: Defendant Jiang Qing denies the facts established by the indictment. This will be put on record.

At 0915, Wang Hongwen was called to court to testify. He repeated all the facts that he confessed during the court hearing of 24 November and made some additional remarks. Wang Hongwen said that he volunteered to go to Changsha and Jiang Qing immediately agreed, saying that if he was going, he should go early, preferably before Chairman Mao met with foreign guests.

During the court hearing of 24 November, Wang Hongwen testified that on 4 October 1974, it was Zhang Yufeng who told him over the telephone that Chairman Mao Zedong had nominated Comrade Deng Xiaoping to be the first vice premier of the State Council. At that time, Wang Hongwen made a record of that phone call.

The staff of the court showed the record on a slide. It reads:

Comrade Zhang Yufeng called: The leader said that 3,000 characters would be long enough for the report on the work of the government. He also said how many vice premiers should there be and who should be first premier. (Deng)

The chief prosecutor asked: What was your motive in going to Changsha to make accusations?

Wang Hongwen answered: To prevent Deng Xiaoping from becoming the first vice premier.

On the 24th, Yao Wenyuan admitted in court that he had said that the atmosphere at that time "had the smell of Lushan conference." He testified that the "accusations in Changsha" were Jiang Qing's idea.

How did the "gang of four" carry on their conspiratorial activities to charge Premier Zhou with false accusations and stop Comrade Deng Xiaoping from becoming the first vice premier?

The Villain Flew South

At around 0900 on 18 October 1974, a silver-colored special plane took off from Beijing. Aboard this plane was Wang Hongwen, who had usurped the position of vice chairman of the Party Central Committee. Without the knowledge of Premier Zhou and other Political Bureau members, he secretly left Beijing in order to see Chairman Mao before he received foreign guests, for the purpose of making false accusations against Premier Zhou and Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping.

The false accusations fabricated by Jiang Qing and her clique started from the counterrevolutionary farce they cooked up--the incident of the vessel "Fengqing."

Right after May Day in 1974, the first Fengqing vessel built in our country sailed from Shanghai to Europe, carrying with it the great expectations of the motherland. The trip to Europe and back covered a distance of 32,000 nautical miles and lasted for 150 days. The ship returned to Shanghai before the national day.

This was on the eve of the opening of the Fourth NPC, a time when the "gang of four" was most heavily involved in the conspiratorial activities to form a "cabinet." When they learned that a deputy political commissar of Fengqing once made unfavorable remarks against the "gang of four," they intentionally tried to exaggerate the matter, aiming to use it to persecute Premier Zhou Enlai and Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping.

On 14 October, the Jiang Qing clique repeatedly wrote comments on a document on the question of Fengqing. Jiang Qing questioned belligerently: "Is the Ministry of Communications a ministry under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee?" She clamored that in the Ministry of Communications "the comprador bourgeois class dictates over us."

Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan also fired a barrage of epithets like "slavish comprador philosophy," "national betrayal" and "imitation foreign devil" to make oblique accusations against that deputy political commissar and slander him as an "alien class element who infiltrated the ranks of the revolution" and a "representative of the comprador bourgeois class" who "stood for a revisionist line." They also clamored for dragging out his backstage supporter.

On the night of 17 October 1974, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held a meeting. Jiang Qing took this opportunity to create an incident and provoke conflict. She handed out reading materials on the Fengqing and questioned Comrade Deng Xiaoping about his opinions.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: I have read these materials and made comments these materials must still be investigated.

Jiang Qing pressed Comrade Deng Xiaoping further on his attitude toward the criticism of "slavish comprador philosophy"--whether he approved or disapproved of such criticism.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointedly rebuffed Jiang Qing. He said: How can we cooperate in a Political Bureau like this? Why do you force your views on others? Is it always necessary to write an opinion which agrees with yours?

After the meeting adjourned and Comrade Deng Xiaoping left, Zhang Chunqiao, who loved to fan up intrigue, immediately made a provocative remark, saying that "Deng Xiaoping has come out again."

Four People Conspire

After the Political Bureau meeting ended, the "gang of four" returned to Diaoyutai. On that same evening, Jiang Qing told Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan to "get together" at the building No 17 which was occupied by her, so that they could analyze and discuss the causes of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's quarrel with Jiang Qing at the Political Bureau meeting.

Jiang Qing said: Deng Xiaoping complained because he was not happy with and angry about the great cultural revolution. He was against the great cultural revolution.

Zhang Chunqiao said: Deng Xiaoping's loss of temper probably had to do with the nomination of the general chief of staff when the subject of the 4th NPC was being discussed. This was a great outburst on his part. He also said: I had expected something to happen and now it did.

Wang Hongwen said: Deng Xiaoping was unhappy with and angry about the great cultural revolution. He refused to support what is new.

Yao Wenyuan also gave his own views at this get-together.

In his diary on 18 October, Yao Wenyuan wrote:

"The situation of struggle has suddenly changed. At the end of yesterday's meeting, Comrade Deng Xiaoping rose to his feet scolding Comrade Jiang Qing....There was something smacking of the Lushan conference. The development of things is independent of one's own will...."

After Jiang Qing and others made their plot, Wang Hongwen suggested that he go to Changsha. Jiang Qing supported it. The second day, he took a special plane to Changsha.

At around 1400 on 18 October, Chairman Mao received Wang Hongwen. Present at that time was Comrade Zhang Yufeng. In an affidavit dated 18 July 1980, she wrote:

"Wang Hongwen first inquired about Chairman Mao's health and then said: Beijing now has much of the atmosphere that smacks of the Lushan conference. I have now come to Hunan, leaving the premier and the other comrades of the Political Bureau in the dark. It was decided at a meeting attended by Chunqiao, Jiang Qing, Wenyuan and me last night that I should come and brief you. The premier is still convalescing. With your approval, I immediately started on my way. In doing so, I am taking a risk.

"Wang Hongwen also said: At the Political Bureau meeting, Jiang Qing and Comrade Deng Xiaoping argued about this matter and quarreled bitterly. He repeated what Jiang Qing and Comrade Xiaoping had said at that time. Wang also said: It seems that Deng is still promoting the policy that considers it better to buy than to build ships, better to hire than to buy ships. He also hinted that such a great outburst on Deng's part had to do with the recent selection of a general chief of staff.

"Continuing, Wang Hongwen said: Though the premier is now ill and in the hospital, the people are talking with him late into the night. Almost every day someone calls. Among those comrades who often go to see the premier are Xiaoping, Jianying and Xiannian. He also said: The frequent appearance of these people has to do with lining up personnel for the 4th NPC.

"Wang Hongwen also praised Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Jiang Qing before Chairman Mao....

"After the talk, Wang Hongwen said: I must make it back to Beijing today as the several of them are waiting for the chairman's advice.

"The chairman said: Well, after this trip, you must see more of the premier and Comrade Jianying. Don't get involved with Jiang Qing. You must keep watch on her."

The court secretary read out excerpts from Zhang Yufeng's testimony.

What Is in the Mind of a Venomous Snake

The "gang of four" slandered and persecuted Zhou Enlai, vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee and premier of the State Council.

In November 1973 before the convening of the 4th NPC, Jiang Qing at an enlarged Political Bureau meeting found an excuse to maliciously attack Premier Zhou. She slanderously charged that he "could not wait to be the chairman's replacement."

On 9 December 1973, after Chairman Mao received the Nepalese king at Zhongnanhai, he said, with Jiang Qing's attack against Premier Zhou in mind: "It is not the premier but she (meaning Jiang Qing) who could not wait."

At noon on the same day that Wang Hongwen flew southward to Changsha, Jiang Qing sent for Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng to come to the building No 17 of Diaoyutai--the two who were due to leave for Changsha for an interview.

Jiang Qing said: The chairman will shortly go abroad to meet with foreigners. You two must also help him. So I have sent for you to discuss an important matter. She also asked them to report it to the chairman.

Jiang Qing said: At a Political Bureau discussion on the problem of the Fengqing on the evening of the 17th, Comrade Xiaoping slipped away after quarreling with her, thus interrupting the Political Bureau meeting. Jiang Qing also said that the leading comrades of the State Council often used business as an excuse to get together. The premier has also gotten very busy in his hospital and was not actually recuperating.

Jiang Qing said: Comrade Xiaoping, the premier and Marshal Ye always band together, with the premier pulling the wires behind.

Jiang Qing and company also slanderously accused Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and others of carrying out activities to usurp power the way Lin Biao did in 1970. She said the nonsense that Beijing now had much of the atmosphere smacking of the Lushan conference.

In an affidavit given on 27 June 1980, defendant Wang Hongwen wrote:

"The aim was to discredit Comrade Deng Xiaoping before Chairman Mao, so that he could no longer remain in office and, still less, as the first vice premier.... The trip to Changsha to make an accusation...was chiefly a case of a villain trying to get the upper hand by complaining first--a villain seizing an opportunity when Comrade Deng Xiaoping was busy accompanying foreign guests. The aim was to make Chairman Mao know the so-called 'truth' of the quarrel, or the so-called problem involving Comrade Deng Xiaoping....It was actually an intrigue to vilify and victimize Comrade Deng Xiaoping...."

Jiang Qing Is Still Making Trouble

Wang Hongwen returned to Beijing that afternoon.

When he was in Changsha, Wang Hongwen promised Chairman Mao to act according to his directives. However, when he returned to Beijing, he went immediately to Diaoyutai to report his Changsha trip to Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan instead of going to see Comrades Zhou Enlai and Ye Jianying.

On the night of the 18th, the four people once again met at building No 17 of Diaoyutai. They also called Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng to the meeting. The two interpreted and took minutes when Chairman Mao talked with foreign guests.

On 26 November, Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng also appeared in court as witnesses.

Wang Hairong said that when she arrived at building No 17, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen had already arrived. At the meeting, Jiang Qing asked Zhang Chunqiao to brief them on the question of the so-called situation. Zhang Chunqiao talked about the deficits in China's revenue and expenditure and in foreign trade after the campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius. He attributed this to the worship and blind faith in foreign things by the leading comrades in the State Council. He even went so far as comparing the meeting of the Party's Political Bureau on the 17th with the "adverse February current."

Jiang Qing wanted Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng to go to Changsha to frame Deng Xiaoping again. In the talk, it was revealed that Wang Hongwen had already seen the chairman, and that Chairman Mao asked him to unite with Comrade Deng Xiaoping because the latter was good at fighting.

On the next day, Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng reported to Premier Zhou Enlai who was then in the hospital on what Jiang Qing had told them. The premier said that the four had planned to attack Comrade Deng Xiaoping. They had attacked Comrade Deng Xiaoping on many occasions and the latter had long been tolerant toward them.

On 20 October, after Chairman Mao had met with foreign guests, Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng reported to him on their talk with the premier. On hearing the report, Chairman Mao said angrily: The Fengqing question is a minor one. Moreover, Comrades Li Xiannian and Ji Dengkui are solving it. Yet, Jiang Qing is still making trouble.

The chairman also suggested that Comrade Deng Xiaoping be appointed the party's vice chairman, the first vice premier, the vice chairman of the military commission of the CCP Central Committee and concurrently chief of the general staff. The chairman highly commended Comrade Deng Xiaoping. He was diametrically opposed to Jiang Qing and asked Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng to tell Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan not to follow Jiang Qing in making criticism.

However, the "gang of four," who had been blinded by lust for gain, would not stop. They continued to attack Deng Xiaoping in an even more frenzied manner.

On 2 March 1976, at a meeting with the leaders of some provinces and autonomous areas, Jiang Qing spoke incoherently and tried her best to spread rumors and sling mud. She said: "Deng Xiaoping is the general manager of the rumor company....he incites one against the other and engages in rumormongering and mudslinging. He is an out-and-out counterrevolutionary doubledealer and exposes even faster

than Lin Biao....As I have mentioned before, we must get together and fight against Deng Xiaoping. He has sold fuel to those big capitalist countries which we ourselves lack. So I say he is a comprador capitalist, and represents the interests of the comprador-landlord class. There is an international capitalist agent in China and his name is Deng Xiaoping. Is it not correct to call him a traitor?...."

Not long afterwards, on 26 April 1976, Jiang Qing wrote a letter to Chairman Mao Zedong to frame Deng Xiaoping: "I think Deng Xiaoping and others have resorted to the tricks of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao....I wonder whether they are even worse than Lin Biao. It is said that there are some similarities and dissimilarities between the activities of their large fleets and small ones. Their small fleets are worse than the large ones."

At the end of the letter, she said: "Eat well, sleep well and fight to win another even greater victory."

Whom did Jiang Qing and company want to fight against? Only against Comrade Deng Xiaoping? No. They were fighting against the 900 million people throughout China.

The people are victorious in this fight. The "gang of four" was escorted into the people's court.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

FRAME-UP OF HE LONG DISCUSSED

HK020650 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 1 Dec 80 p 2

[Long-distance call from correspondent in Beijing: "Inside Story of the 'February Mutiny' Revealed"]

[Text] "BEIJING WANBAO" carried the story of the "February Mutiny" on 30 November, revealing an unjust case. The story was revealed in the special report entitled "Trial of the Treacherous Court Officials" written by a "BEIJING WANBAO" correspondent after an interview with the wife of He Long, Xue Ming. The following is an abstract of the article:

When the reporter came into Xue Ming's sitting room, he saw several sheets of paper hanging on the wall on which there was a poem written by Xu Fanting, a hero in the war of resistance against Japan. The poem read: "He is similar to Zhao Yun in obedience and loyalty to the country; yet his resolution and vividness are more prominent. The heroic spirit of Comrade He Long is beyond compare with that of General Li Mu and Lian Po."

Xue Ming said to the reporter: "The law is promoting righteousness for the people today. I have kept two things concealed in my heart since Comrade He Long was persecuted. I can tell you now. The first thing is the so-called 'February Mutiny.'"

Kang Sheng Made Irresponsible Remarks and Spread Rumors

Xue Ming said: "Around July 1967, the 'February Mutiny' created a scandal in Beijing and in other big cities in the country. The true story is that in the spring of 1966, a certain regiment was posted to the Beijing Wei Shu district to be in charge of militia training and so on. They borrowed premises from the University of Beijing and the Chinese People's University because there was not enough room for accommodations. Certain individuals put up big character posters which 'suspected a mutiny.' Realizing an opportunity Kang Sheng then slandered He Long and Peng Zhen for 'mobilizing the army at their personal command and promoting the February Mutiny' at the mass meeting of the Beijing Teachers University and at the meeting of the Central Revolutionary Group. He also spread the following libel: 'He Long personally mobilized the army and built a blockhouse in the suburbs of Beijing. He organized the coup d'etat forces in Tiayukou in accordance with his plot.' In April 1968, Kang Sheng spread a more horrible libel. He told the personnel engaged in the examination of the case: 'He Long has issued

guns and cannons to the sports committee. The cannons are placed in Shishahai, aiming directly at Zhongnanhai.... He has issued more than 700 guns to his men at one time.' However, as a matter of fact, there was only a small number of guns used especially for military exercises issued to the men and there were no cannons at all."

He Long Knew Nothing About This Till His Death

"In fact, these slanderous remarks would have been clarified if the people in charge had carried out investigations. However, Comrade He Long, being a member of the Political Bureau as well as vice premier and vice chairman of the military commission, knew not a word of the 'February Mutiny' till the day he died. No one ever came to him about this."

Xue Ming sighed and said: "'He Long died because someone was spreading slander against him behind his back.' Another thing that I would like to reveal is the story that He Long received representative of the Kuomintang Xiong Gongqing. At that time, He Long let Xiong come into the Red Army because he wanted to find out the enemy's targets and intentions. On the other hand, He Long, Guang Xiangying and Xia Xi of the Central Subbureau for West Hubei and Hunan had submitted reports to the central organ before and after this incident. A couple of decades later this incident became He Long's crime of 'turning traitor and going over to the enemy.'"

Wong Yongsheng Said the Last Word

Xue Ming said: "As far as I know, those engaged in the examination of this case had come across these reports when they read over the file. However, they had to work in accordance with the instructions from the higher level. They convicted He Long of the 'crime' first and then began to look for evidence. They did not consider what was right or wrong. They concealed the unfavorable evidence and pretended that they had never heard of it before. We had written some articles of appeal when we were imprisoned. However, we heard that Wong Yongsheng said the last word and all became invalid. In addition to this, Kang Sheng ordered others to torture us and let us die quietly."

Xue Ming said: "Today, we have a relatively complete set of lawful procedures. We persist in regarding facts as truth and the law as the criterion. Whether you deny or pretend to be deaf and dumb, you can never escape from the punishment deserved once you are proved guilty. On 21 November, when I listened to the indictment read by the chief judge, I remembered He Long's words: 'There are treacherous court officials in the party. If we let them continue creating chaos, the results will be dreadful to contemplate. But I believe that they will come to no good end.' What Comrade He Long had predicted has come true. At last we see the end of the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. I could not sleep that night not for any other reason than that I was so happy."

The Whole Class Supervises an Old Woman

Xue Ming also talked about her suffering during the great cultural revolution. She said that she was sent to a party school in the hilly areas of Guizhou after He Long had been isolated. She was punished to do heavy work there and was supervised by a whole class of people. Nobody knew who she was except that she was a secret old woman. Thanks to the concern of Premier Zhou, she returned to Beijing after Lin Biao's counterrevolutionary coup d'etat had been smashed.

PARTY AND STATE

'DILEMMA' OF GAO GANG EXAMINED

HK211132 Hong Kong CHENG MING No 37 in Chinese 1 Nov 80 pp 18-19

[Article by Tu Feng: "Can the Gao Gang Dilemma Be Resolved?"]

[Text] I have read an article by Mr Miao Shuo entitled "Has the Gao Gang Question Been Put on the Agenda?" in Number 35 of "CHENG MING." The Gao Gang question is indeed a mystery. Will this question be put on the agenda? Mr Miao added a question mark to the title of his article. Recently, I have had a chance to meet two people who have close contacts with Gao Gang's family. They have provided me with a great deal of precious information. Perhaps this information can answer the question raised by Mr Miao.

A Recent Directive Issued by Deng Xiaoping

Deng Xiaoping has recently issued a directive concerning the question of Gao Gang. It contains two ideas: 1. From now on, we should refrain from mentioning Mao Zedong's way of life and his political tricks. 2. The way in which Gao Gang and Rao Shushi were treated was not too harsh.

Judging from these two ideas, the question of Gao Gang will not be put on the agenda and will be left unsettled.

What is the nature of the Gao Gang and Rao Shushi incident? The account given by Mr Miao is basically correct. Gao Gang was a victim of Mao Zedong's political tricks. The tragedy was caused by Mao Zedong's attempt to get rid of Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai.

Gao Gang Trumpeted the "Party of the Army Theory"

In the summer of 1953, the CCP held a conference on financial and economic work. On 10 September, it held a conference on organizational work. During these conferences, Gao Gang conducted many activities, the most important one being the advocacy of the "party of the army theory." He said that the CCP could be divided into two, one being the "party of the bases and the army," the other being the "party of the white area." He stressed: "The party was created by the army." This implied that "the party of the white area" was unimportant. Whom did the so-called "party of the white area" represent? Obviously, it represented Liu Shaoqi.

Gao Gang conducted such activities not only because he had long term conflicts with Liu Shaoqi, but mainly because he was incited to do them by Mao Zedong.

Gao Gang was rather displeased by Liu Shaoqi's being the number two man of the CCP. He wrote to Mao Zedong, demanding that Liu Shaoqi's post be held by different people by turns. At the same time, he revealed that when Mao Zedong attended the Chongqing negotiations in 1945, Liu Shaoqi put forth the slogan of the new period of peace and democracy and planned to reorganize the PLA.

Mao Zedong Hints to Gao Gang That He May Secretly Organize a Cabinet

Mao Zedong grasped the conflict between Liu Shaoqi and Gao Gang and took advantage of this opportunity to achieve his personal aims. He talked to Gao Gang and expressed his dissatisfaction with the "cabinet" of Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai, giving Gao Gang a chance to approach some people to secretly form a cabinet so as to replace Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai.

Deng Xiaoping's Attitude

Mao Zedong's suggestion fit in exactly with Gao Gang's wishes. He approached some leaders of the major CCP regions--Peng Dehuai of the northwest, Deng Xiaoping of the southwest, Rao Shushi of East China and Lin Biao of Central China--in an effort to form a new cabinet. Deng Xiaoping did not approve of what Gao Gang was doing and he told Mao Zedong about this.

On hearing what Deng Xiaoping said, Mao Zedong immediately pretended that he was also displeased with Gao Gang. He asked Deng Xiaoping to advise Rao Shushi, Peng Dehuai and Lin Biao not to follow Gao Gang. Since Deng Xiaoping was not aware of the truth at that time, he did what Mao Zedong told him to do. All of them, except Rao Shushi, accepted Deng Xiaoping's advise and rejected Gao Gang's proposal.

Under these circumstances and after serious consideration, Mao Zedong decided to sacrifice Gao Gang.

Mao Zedong Absents Himself From the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh CCP Central Committee

At a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee on 24 December 1953, Mao Zedong suddenly raised the question of "underground headquarters." He then suggested that the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh CCP Central Committee be held in Beijing in February 1954. In order to avoid direct confrontation with Gao Gang, he found a pretext and absented himself from the meeting which he had proposed. Liu Shaoqi, Gao Gang's opponent, presided at the meeting. The relevant CCP documents recorded: "The Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee was held in Beijing from 6 to 10 February 1954. Present at the meeting were 35 CCP Central Committee members and 26 alternate CCP Central Committee members. Moreover, 52 leading cadres of the party, government, army and people's organizations attended the meeting as observers. Comrade Liu Shaoqi, vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee, presided at the meeting. Comrade Mao Zedong did not attend this meeting because he was not in Beijing." This meeting formally raised the question of the "alliance of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi." It revealed and criticized the antiparty alliance of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi who schemed to split

the party. It also ordered them to confess their antiparty crimes. The meeting adopted the "resolution on strengthening party unity" proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong. The so-called "strengthening party unity" implied that Gao Gang was engaged in activities to split the party. In fact, who was the person hiding behind the scenes, drawing in one faction, hitting out at another and taking advantage of their conflicts to attack his opponents? Most party members did not know this because they were kept in the dark.

The "Forums" on the Question of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi

Of course, Gao Gang and Rao Shushi were dissatisfied with the resolution adopted by the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee. They refused to "plead guilty." Therefore, Mao Zedong asked Zhou Enlai to chair a forum on the question of Gao Gang on October 1954. At the same time, he asked Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun and Tan Zhenlin to chair a forum on the question of Rao Shushi. He asked them to continue to reveal and criticize Gao Gang and Rao Shushi at these two forums. Under such great pressure, Gao Gang eventually committed suicide.

From 21 to 31 March 1955, Mao Zedong complacently presided at the national conference of the CCP in Beijing. He made the opening speech and the conclusion at this conference. Deng Xiaoping delivered the report on the antiparty alliance of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi. The conference adopted the resolution concerning the antiparty alliance of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi and decided to expel them from the party and dismiss them from their posts within the party and outside it. This conference also adopted two resolutions, one concerning the draft of the first 5-year plan for the development of the national economy (Chen Yun made the report on this plan). Another was on the establishment of central and local party's control committees. It established a central control commission headed by Dong Biwu.

When handling the case of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi, Mao Zedong craftily drew in Liu Shaoqi and attacked Gao Gang. Who could have imagined that a similar tragedy would happen to Liu Shaoqi several years later. Moreover, the tragedy was a more terrible one.

It was a common occurrence in the history of the CCP that Mao Zedong played political tricks. However, in the current campaign to criticize Mao Zedong, his reputation is still preserved to a certain extent. Thus, not many vile activities of this kind have been mentioned.

The Marriage Between Gao Gang and Li Lique

In his directives, Deng Xiaoping mentioned that Gao Gang had not been treated too harshly at that time. This probably implied that Gao Gang had committed suicide and that he had not been as ill-treated as Liu Shaoqi, Peng Dehuai and some others during the "cultural revolution." This, things had not been too bad for him.

In fact, since the Gao Gang incident, his family members' circumstances have not been too bad.

Gao Gang's wife was Li Lique. Of course, she was not his first wife. His first wife was a woman with bound feet in a Shaanxi village. Li Lique joined the revolution when she was very young. She worked as a library assistant in Yanan.

She was very beautiful and Gao Gang fell in love with her at first sight. However, Li Liqun was too young to understand his desire at that time. Gao Gang's subordinates understood it perfectly well. They often invited her to Gao Gang's house. One night when Li Liqun visited Gao Gang, he did not allow her to go home. Soon afterwards, Li Liqun married Gao Gang when she was only 16 years old.

The couple had five children, two boys and three girls. The eldest one was a boy called Gao Xuan. The second, third and fourth were girls called Yan Yan, An An and Bin Bin. Yan Yan and An An were born in Yanan. The youngest one was a boy. He was conceived after Gao Gang's grave incident and was born in 1955. The character of this youngest son was obviously different from that of his brother and sisters. He was weak and fond of crying. This was allegedly due to the poor "prenatal education" he had received. Because of this, Li Liqun often complained to her good friends about Gao Gang: "When he knew he was going to commit suicide, why did he make me pregnant?"

After Gao Gang's grave incident, the organization department talked many times to Li Liqun, asking her to reveal and account for Gao Gang's crimes. In fact, Li Liqun knew very little about her husband's political activities. She was previously deputy chief (of the training bureau of the labor department). After Gao Gang's grave incident, Li Liqun was demoted one grade to the post of section chief. The reason for this was that she had been promoted too rapidly due to her relations with Gao Gang and she was put back to the position she deserved. Before the "cultural revolution," she worked in the education department.

The State Gives a Living Allowance to Gao Gang's Children

After Gao Gang committed suicide, Li Liqun and her children moved to a residence at Al Dasitiaokuan Street, Xijiekou, Beijing. It was a dormitory of the organization department and was a good residence. It was a Chinese-style compound with houses around a courtyard, five big rooms facing the north, rooms in the east and west wings and a row of rooms facing the south for the workers. Gao Gang's family used to have many guards and attendants. After his death, they only kept two servants. One was a watchman called Lao Li, Gao Gang's previous groom who worked under him for a long time. The other was a cook.

The state has provided Gao Gang's children with living allowances of 50 yuan each, which is not a small amount in China where wages are low. Compared with other CCP high-ranking cadres attacked during the "cultural revolution," Gao Gang's family members have not been treated too badly. Thus, things "have not been too bad" for them.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PANCHEN LAMA'S MARRIAGE, SITUATION IN XIZANG

HK210410 Hong Kong CHEN MING No 37 in Chinese 1 Nov 80 pp 22-24

[Article by Hsiao Cheng: "The Panchen Lama's Marriage and the Situation in Xizang"]

[Text] The Panchen Lama's Formal Marriage

The Panchen Lama was formally married recently.

How is it that the living Buddha has gotten married? This is indeed incredible. However, it is a fact that has occurred in 1980.

Who is his wife? She is the granddaughter of Dong Qiwu, a KMT general who defected to the communists. The matchmakers of this marriage were two drivers.

Once when the Panchen Lama and Dong Qiwu were attending a meeting in a conference room, their drivers chatted outside the room. In their conversation, the Panchen Lama's driver unintentionally mentioned that the Panchen Lama had been very lonely. On hearing this, Dong Qiwu's driver felt sympathy for him. He had a very fantastic idea--to act as a matchmaker for the Panchen Lama. The other driver also agreed to help enthusiastically.

At that time, Dong Qiwu's divorced daughter was living with his family. She had two unmarried daughters: The elder one was about 24 to 25 and the younger about 21.

After a discussion, the two drivers agreed to introduce Dong Qiwu's elder granddaughter to the Panchen Lama.

The driver told the Panchen Lama about this idea. The latter happily agreed. The two drivers then made arrangements for the Panchen Lama to meet Dong Qiwu's granddaughter.

The two sisters both appeared at the meeting. Although the drivers intended to introduce the elder sister to the Panchen Lama, he took a fancy to the younger one.

As there was sign of a positive outcome, the grandfather Dong Qiwu voiced his objections. Later, a high-ranking official talked to him and changed his mind.

400,000 Yuan as Cash Gift for Betrothal

Not long afterwards, the Panchen Lama was formally married. It was said that he gave the bride 400,000 yuan as cash gift for betrothal.

Being a living Buddha, the Panchen Lama is very rich. A drawer in his room is filled with 10-yuan notes. Before the 1964 incident, he had a "Panchen Affairs Office" at Beichang Street, Beijing. On religious occasions, many Tibetans and Lamaism believers paid homage to him and had him touch their heads as a sign of blessing. At the same time, they donated a lot of money. This is one of the sources of the Panchen Lama's income. After the 1964 incident, he was put under house arrest in a red western-style house on the (Dongzongbu) alley of Beijing (originally Li Jishen's house). He could walk about under the inspection of guards. During the cultural revolution, he was put in Qincheng prison. Of course, his properties were either confiscated or frozen at that time. When he was released from prison, he got back his savings. That is why he could offer 400,000 yuan as cash gift to his bride.

Before the marriage, the Panchen Lama's wife was an unemployed youth. After the marriage, she has appeared in public as the Panchen Lama's secretary.

The Panchen Lama and Martin Luther

There has been another marriage like the Panchen Lama's. Pagbalha Geleg Namgyai, the number one living Buddha of Qamdo has also married. Both marriages have aroused some people's comments. A lama's marriage is a challenge to Buddhism--the tradition of Lamaism. In fact, religion is similar to all other things in the world. It undergoes development and changes. In the past, Christian priests were not allowed to get married. But Martin Luther carried out religious reforms and established a new religion, which allowed the priests to get married. The new religion stood up to Catholics as an equal. The writer of this article dare not make any improper comment on whether the Panchen Lama wanted to be a Buddhist "Martin Luther." However, it seems that his decision to get married is irreproachable.

The Background of Which Yang Jinren Is Appointed Vice Premier

During the recent NPC, the Panchen Lama made some mild criticisms on CCP policies. He said: "Local organs at all levels should allow the minority nationalities to be their own masters...instead of making them 'puppets' controlled by others." He added: "The masses in Xizang said: 'The Tibetan cadres are the masters while the Han cadres make the decisions.' The Han language is used in most documents of the leading organs. Although the basic-level cadres and masses do not understand the Han language, they are not allowed to use the Tibetan language. In evaluating cadres, recruiting workers and admitting students, the level of the Tibetan language is not taken into consideration. However good one's Tibetan language is, one is still regarded as 'illiterate.' As a result, many people are unwilling to learn the Tibetan language, which is declining fast. No respect has been shown for the customs and habits of the Tibetan nationality. For example, the national costumes have been criticized as black clothes. Another for example, the brocade stole, which the Tibetans often use as a gift to show respect and as a symbol of nobility and purity, has been arbitrarily regarded as white and not revolutionary and has thus been banned."

Over the past 30 years, many problems have arisen from the CCP's policies toward national minority regions. Because of this, many knotty problems which put the CCP in a difficult position have occurred in Xizang and Xinjiang. In order to rapidly solve these problems, Yang Jingren, the minister of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, has been appointed a vice premier.

After the peaceful liberation of Xizang, some Han cadres were sent to Xizang. When the rebellion was suppressed and democratic reformation was carried out in 1958, more Han cadres were sent to Xizang. They took up various important posts in the leading groups. Most of these Han cadres cherished high hopes, voluntarily gave up their comfortable lives and went to Xizang. However, due to erroneous policies, their dedication did not yield good results. Although Xizang has made some improvements and developments in production in comparison with the preliberation period, it is still very poor and backward. This was particularly true during the cultural revolution when Ren Rong was the leader of Xizang. He vigorously pushed the ultraleftist line and led Xizang into greater poverty. For example, he tried to get rid of small merchants and hawkers and ordered the Tibetans to grow high-yield winter wheat instead of barley. However, the Tibetans were not used to eating winter wheat. Nor were they good at growing it. Moreover, the Xizang plateau was not suitable for growing wheat. As a result, there was a poor harvest which ended in famine. Some people even went to Sichuan and some other places to beg for food.

Quantitative changes can develop into qualitative changes. However, people always treat quantitative changes lightly. They always think that nothing will go wrong. When they discover that qualitative changes have taken place, it is "too late." The many years of poverty and backwardness in Xizang and various ultraleftist policies have sown seeds of national and religious antagonism in the course of quantitative changes. When the Dalai Lama's delegation visited Xizang last year, the seeds suddenly germinated.

The Shock Caused by Dalai Lama

Last year, the Dalai Lama sent a delegation to negotiate with the CCP. The delegation included his brother, brother-in-law and secretaries. They visited Lhasa, Qamdo and Gannan. They were received with a display of unprecedented fervor wherever they went. Tens of thousands of "emancipated serfs" voluntarily gathered at (Luobulinka) in Lhasa to welcome their previous owners. They even put out their tongues at the delegation as the "untouchables" had done in the past whenever they met nobles. In Gannan, the party and CYL cadres also rushed to welcome the Dalai Lama's delegation along with the masses.

This display by the Tibetans greatly shocked the CCP cadres: has their work (including ideological work) been a complete failure? Why do the emancipated serfs so fervently welcome their previous owners who had suppressed and exploited them in the past? And why are they willing to behave as the "untouchables?"

In fact, this is not difficult to explain. On the one hand, Xizang has so long been backward that many people are still keeping to their ignorant habits. On the other hand, the many years of poverty has caused them to be disappointed with their "liberators."

Hu Yaobang's Tour of Xizang

The disturbance caused by the Dalai Lama's delegation greatly concerned the CCP Central Committee. Yang Jingren, minister of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission personally toured Xizang to understand the situation and listen to public opinion. After hearing his report, the Central Committee felt the seriousness of the state of affairs. Thus, it sent Hu Yaobang, CCP general secretary, to do something about the situation.

On 22 May, Hu Yaobang, Wan Li, Ngapoi Ngawang-Jigmi, Yang Jingren and Zhao Zhenqing went to Xizang. In order to foster a closer relationship between the Han and Tibetan nationalities and between the people and cadres, Hu Yaobang deliberately took a "minibus" (similar to 14-seat bus) instead of a car. Since he could not adapt himself to the plateau, he suffered from mountain sickness. However, he still hurried from one place to another.

On behalf of the Central Committee, Hu Yaobang announced the following "six major things" to be done: 1) full play must be given to the right of national regional autonomy; 2) the policy of recuperation should be carried out to reduce the burden of the masses; 3) specific and flexible policies suitable to the conditions in Xizang should be carried out in all fields of economic work; 4) the funds allocated by the state to Xizang should be used to boost agricultural production and animal husbandry, and to raise the living standard of the Tibetan people; 5) culture, education and science in Xizang should be energetically revived and developed; and 6) the party's policy on cadres of minority people origin must be correctly carried out.

Many cadres in Xizang (including Tibetan CCP cadres) do not have a good understanding of these six tasks. They think that the policies have been changed too rapidly. However, the Central Committee thinks that this change is inevitable.

Some cadres also have misgivings regarding the return of the Dalai Lama. Some people asked: "If the Dalai Lama and his men who are in exile return, the more than 20,000 professionals among them will take up most of the key technical posts. What will happen if they try to restore capitalism?" Hu Yaobang answered humorously: "If advanced capitalism is achieved in Xizang, we will be the ones benefiting."

What Is the Most Difficult Problem?

The most difficult problem for the CCP is the question of cadres in Xizang.

One of the six things to be done well by the CCP is "full-time Tibetan cadres should make up more than two-thirds of the total number of government functionaries in Xizang within the next 2 or 3 years.... It is glorious for the Han cadres to leave after accomplishing their historical task."

Why should the Han cadres withdraw so rapidly and completely?

Most cadres went to Xizang in the 1950's because they responded to the party's call and were imbued with revolutionary ideals. They have lived in Xizang for more than 20 years and most of them suffer from mountain sickness. Women cannot give birth to children in the plateau. Moreover, many people died during the Xizang rebellion. Some of them were oppressed in different ways during the cultural

revolution and no one cared for them. Some of them have given their youth, health and even lives and have grown old. They should retire and go back to their native places. Yet, who will succeed them? Although some other Han cadres have gone to Xizang to provide help, they are different from those who went there in the 1950's. In view of the small number of volunteers and in order to encourage people to go to Xizang, the Central Committee stipulated: by going to Xizang, those who have not been admitted to the party will be admitted into it; they will be promoted by two grades and will be able to return to the interior of China within 3 years. When this stipulation was put into practice, a number of cadres went to Xizang. As they were not prepared to settle down there and as they were not able to familiarize themselves with the local conditions within the 3-year tenure of office, they did not have great success in their work. In addition, when cadres who went to Xizang in the 1950's compared themselves to the newcomers, they felt that the government had been unfair. Thus, they could not keep their minds on their work.

Therefore, the question of cadres in Xizang is the most difficult problem for the CCP. The CCP has no alternative but to withdraw the Han cadres and energetically train Tibetan cadres. It has now been stipulated that all Han cadres, except soldiers, can be transferred to the interior of the country.

However, such rapid reshuffle has also caused a real problem in Xizang. The Tibetan cadres are worried about whether they can shoulder such heavy loads by themselves. If a small number of the Han cadres are asked to stay behind to provide help, no one will be willing to do so. Up to now, there is still no miraculous cure for this problem.

In fact, the CCP has been supplying subsidies to Xizang since its liberation. However, a difference will soon emerge. In the past, Xizang was managed by the Han cadres and in the future it will be managed by the Tibetans themselves. Due to the erroneous line and policies, Xizang became very poor over the past 20 years. This was the main cause of the recent minor disturbance. No one can accurately forecast what will happen. However, the CCP is trying its best to remedy its past mistakes. The recent promotion of Yang Jingren to the post of vice premier of the state council and the 1-month theatrical festival of minority nationalities which was unprecedented in scale and put on in Beijing demonstrate the CCP's determination to do a good job in the national minority regions.

CSO: 4005

'WANBAO' URGES MASS RECOMMENDATION OF TALENT

HK220526 Beijing WANBAO in Chinese 5 Nov 80 p 1

[Article by the editorial board: "The Masses Know How to Recognize Real Talent"]

[Text] Over 1,100 years have elapsed since Han Yu moaned: "The existence of winged steeds in the world was unknown until the appearance of Bo Le, who knew how to judge horses."

Indeed, there has been no lack of stories in history about "Bo Le" discovering "winged steeds." Look, Xiao He discovered Han Xin; Liu Bei discovered Zhu Geliang; Li Shimin discovered Wei Zheng; Zhu Yuanzhang discovered Liu Ji; Guang Xu discovered Tan Sitong. These "winged steeds" did something for "Bo Le." However, with just one "Bo Le" looking for talent, there are bound to be limitations to the effort. It often happens that real talent has not been recognized while the one chosen as a talent proves to be the wrong choice. Zhu Geliang's assigning Ma Su to defend Jieting and Guang Xu's selecting Yuan Shikai with his military power to support "the reform movement of 1898" may be cited as historical lessons.

Therefore, we must review today what Han Yu said: "Alas, is there really no winged steed? Or is it really because people know little about horses?"

Winged steeds do exist. It depends on whether people can recognize them. How can we judge like Bo Le, who had an eye for the right horse? First, we must overcome several obstacles that block our "vision:" 1) rating or ranking people according to seniority--in selecting cadres, we first check whether the prospective candidate's length of service is long enough and whether he is now in a high or low rank; 2) staying in the rut--we dare not promote intellectuals as cadres, erroneously thinking that we can put our hearts at ease only with leading cadres selected from among worker-peasant cadres and political work cadres; 3) failure to take ability and political integrity into consideration and to pay attention to one's real talents. Meanwhile, we also tend to get confused about "political integrity." Saying yes to everything and taking one's cue from the leadership is equated with "political integrity." A display of genuine knowledge, or a show of courage in pointing out what is wrong with work and making suggestions is equated with lack of "political integrity." 4) A disposition to regard anything short of perfection as unacceptable--we never forget general mistakes committed by one in the past. We take note of only his past records and his family background and pay no attention to what his future performance is likely to be, and especially what is his present performance. Second, we must not rely solely on

leading cadres at a given level to be "Bo Les." Nor must we rely only on organization or personnel departments to be "Bo Les." Instead we must let the masses and the leadership, and the organization and personnel departments all act as "Bo Les" at the same time. To switch from letting a small number of people act as "Bo Les" to letting the masses and the leadership play the role together helps the leadership's judgment in selecting talent and helps to remove ideological obstacles in promoting talented people. Thus, such defects as listening only to one side, making the wrong choice, being jealous of talented people, and so on and so forth that are likely to appear in selecting talent can be corrected. Those "winged steeds" that combine ability and political integrity can also be given a chance to show their full powers.

Therefore, we are all for the method of selecting talent on the recommendation of the masses and with the approval of the higher authorities, as adopted by the Beijing Aviation College.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'WANBAO' URGES ACTION TO PROMOTE TALENTED PEOPLE

HK220538 Beijing WANBAO in Chinese 7 Nov 80 p 1

[Article by editorial board: "We Cannot Just Sit and Discourse on Theory"]

[Text] For the sake of our dear motherland, and to accomplish the four modernizations as soon as possible, we must be bold in promoting to leading positions capable talented people and middle-aged and young cadres who are in the prime of life. This is a general principle acknowledged by all.

The Party Central Committee has reiterated this general principle to everybody, in particular to the lower levels. However, there is very little response from the lower level, and nothing has yet been done. We can only see people discoursing on theory at various meetings. It is just like holding arrows and appreciating them, saying "fine arrows, beautiful arrows," without putting them to the bowstring and shooting them.

Theories are not to be discoursed on without putting them into practice. The Party Central Committee has clearly stipulated the principle and policy. What we have to do is to carry them out.

Arrows are to be shot. However, first of all, we have to aim at our "targets." Only after the "target" is set can we shoot the arrow at it, and only then can the capable people excel themselves and be promoted to high positions.

This has reminded us of two examples from ancient times on how talented people were discovered, recommended and employed.

Xiao He, the renowned minister of the Western Han Dynasty, was acquainted with Han Xin who was well versed in both polite letters and martial arts. In his contacts with Han, he found that he could be a talented general and recommended him to Liu Bang. However, Liu Bang did not employ him. Han Xin had no alternative but to go elsewhere. When Xiao He learnt of this, he was so anxious that disregarding his old age, he travelled many miles in the moonlight to bring back Han Xin.

The second example comes from the Eastern Han Dynasty. When Xu Shu was the adviser to Liu Bei, Cao Cao acquired him as an adviser by trickery. Liu Bei cried when he said farewell to Xu Shu. He stared into the distance in tears. However, his view was blocked by the woods. Liu Bei pointed at the woods with his whip and said,

"I want to cut down all these trees." When his followers asked him why, he said: These trees blocked my view of the departing Xu Shu. Suddenly, Xu Shu rode back and recommended Zhuge Liang to Liu Bei. Xu Shu said: If you could have Zhuge Liang, it is like Wen Wang of the Zhou Dynasty having the service of Jiang Ziya, and Liu Bang having the services of Zhang Liang. Guan Zhong of the state of Qi in the spring and autumn period and Le Yi of the state of Yan in the period of the warring states were incomparable to Zhuge Liang. This led to the story of Liu Bei visiting the thatched hut three times to solicit the service of the talented Zhuge Liang.

These instances of Xiao He chasing Han Xin under the moonlight, Liu Bei seeing Xu Shu off in tears, Xu Shu riding back to recommend Zhuge Liang and Liu Bei visiting the thatched hut three times to solicit the service of Zhuge Liang showed how anxious they were in recommending the talented people. There are numerous stories in Chinese history concerning the admiration and promotion of talented people to maintain stability and run the country.

However, why are the leading cadres still discoursing on theories in the face of so many outstanding talented people? Why should it take so long for them to promote and employ the talented? Why should we put up so many obstacles to obstruct ourselves?

In developing the four modernizations, can we stroll along at a casual pace?

Today, if we still merely discourse on theories, that will be very bad.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

GUANGZHOU CONTROVERSY OVER HONG KONG TELEVISION

HK211322 Hong Kong TUNG HSIANG No 26 in Chinese 16 Nov 80 pp 21-22

[Article by I Ming: "Debate in Guangzhou: What Attitude to Take Toward Hong Kong Television"]

[Text] On 26 May of this year, the Guangdong Provincial Revolutionary Committee issued a circular prohibiting the watching of Hong Kong television. After the ban was issued, many "fishbone antennas" erected for the purpose of receiving Hong Kong television broadcasts were ordered to be removed. However, there is still quite a number of people who watch in secret. People are debating on the merits of this ban.

Last month this controversy over Hong Kong television finally came out into the open in the newspapers.

The debate started with an article in the 8 June issue of YANGCHENG WANBAO entitled "'Hong Kong Television' and Others" signed by Shun Zhi. This article said that Hong Kong television "is nothing but commercials propagandizing the 'pleasure-seeking mentality' of that 'dazzling world' and various 'farces' about the bourgeois philosophy of cheating and outwitting others," while television series "are nothing but fantastic films about swordsmen and martial arts, suspense or horror films about murders and detectives and vulgar erotic films.

On 7 October, YANGCHENG WANBAO carried another article by Huang Shushen, expressing dissenting views on Shun Zhi's opinion and the ban on viewing Hong Kong television.

The article cited a middle-aged man living in the special zone, who often had the opportunity to watch Hong Kong television, as saying: "There are both serious and nonsensical programs on Hong Kong television. Some inspire people to understand life while some pollute the mind with decadent ideas." "Hong Kong news programs are fast, concise and natural. There are also reports which expose the shortcomings of Hong Kong society." The author criticized Shun Zhi's article by saying: "In our literary criticism and propaganda work, there is indeed an erroneous tendency toward oversimplification, speaking in terms of absolutes and bias. Conclusions are too inflexible and rigid with no analysis and no room for argument. They make the readers confused, unsure and unable to distinguish good from bad and true from false. This is worrying. Comrade Shun Zhi's article also has these defects."

The author asked the following question: "Hong Kong television did a live coverage of a performance by the Guangdong Academy of Cantonese Opera; in its reports on the Third Plenary Session of the Fifth NPC, it expressed a certain wish for the achievement of the motherland's 'four modernizations'; it has condemned and attacked the darker side of Hong Kong society--could you call all this a 'cancerous toxin to the mind' which 'corrodes' and 'pollutes'? Is this not too much of an over-simplified and arbitrary conclusion?"

The author holds that although there is rubbish and poisonous weeds on Hong Kong television, there are also quite a number of wholesome, serious and even outstanding works.

Based on this view, the author presented a dissenting opinion on the ban on Hong Kong television. He said that it is strange and perplexing, and of course unconvincing, that some foreign books and magazines and television programs dealing with science, practical knowledge and others can be imported and published, while programs on Hong Kong television are only supposed to be totally negated and people are only supposed to "know its 'defects'."

He believes that according to Marxist principles, we must analyze, differentiate, criticize and appropriate for our own use things belonging to the realm of human culture, and must not adopt the policy of hostility, fear and prohibition. Hong Kong television is a kind of culture. The same policy must apply. If we are not supposed to indiscriminately boycott and prohibit negative things, then we should all the more adopt the policy of studying, investigating and differentiating, propagating the good and eliminating the bad and praising the good and rectifying the evil with regard to Hong Kong television, which contains both good and bad elements. We must not think of the masses as being like "a dou" [infant name of Liu Shan (207-271), last emperor of Shu Han, known for his lack of ability and weakness of character] nor must we think that socialism is that fragile. We must never forget this in our discussions on questions of culture.

It is a bit surprising that YANGCHENG WANBAO printed this article. Apart from the surprise, this also makes one happy: the discussion of political affairs has really become an actual right of the people.

After 10 days, Shun Zhi published another article in YANGCHENG WANBAO refuting Huang Shushen's article.

The article admitted that it was wrong to negate certain "good things" in Hong Kong television which ought to be affirmed, but he stressed that although there are some wholesome and desirable things in Hong Kong television, on the whole, it is full of decadent, vulgar, erotic and fantastic negative things. It transmits bourgeois thinking and sentiments, advocates the bourgeois lifestyle and instills a bourgeois outlook on life into people's minds. All this has a subtle corrosive effect on people. The article also cited Hong Kong newspaper reviews of various television programs saying that Hong Kong television is full of violent scenes and portrayals of underworld activities. Even the Hong Kong audience is strongly critical of its contents.

Shun Zhi still insisted that in dealing with the spread of evil winds and noxious influences, apart from enforcing a strict ban, much work also has to be done,

the most important of which is to conduct ideological education among the masses. He censured Huang Shushen, saying: "To firmly resist the corrosion of bourgeois thinking" is a great task. It is a new and important task for Guangdong which is presently implementing "special policies and flexible measures." What must our literary criticism circles do? I think that rather than boasting that we are "not that fragile," as certain comrades do, we had better do some work in eliminating pollution, such as conducting ideological education on resisting corrosion among the masses and creating public opinion against corrosion, in order to make everyone consciously stop watching Hong Kong television programs.

It seems that both Shun Zhi's and Huang Shushen's articles have a tendency to seize on the minor errors of the other for lengthy attack. However, the two have one thing in common, that is, neither one claims that everything on Hong Kong television is good or that it has more "rights" than "wrongs." The only difference between the two is that one believes that a "ban" must be adopted to deal with the "wrongs" while the other feels that the "ban" is improper.

Even the Hong Kong audience would agree that there are bad elements in Hong Kong television. However, is a "ban" the way to solve the problem? Some of our friends in Guangzhou started watching Hong Kong television in secret only after the government's clampdown. They said they wanted to see why the government is so scared of Hong Kong television. I believe that those who proclaimed the ban would never have thought that the ban could have such contrary effects.

Can "bourgeois things" really be banned? Most people in Guangzhou have relatives and friends in Hong Kong. Everyday, there are many overseas Chinese and Hong Kong and Macao compatriots going to Guangzhou. Are we to ban these "people who are not living in socialism," whose words and deeds propagate "bourgeois things," from going back to China? Are we to stop correspondence between Guangzhou and Hong Kong? Is it not contradictory to say that we must study the strong and weak points of capitalism to use them as a guide for the building of modernization and yet ban people from having contact with capitalist things?

I admire one statement by Shun Zhi. He said that we must educate people to consciously stop viewing Hong Kong television. However, the ban is now in force. The act of viewing itself is a violation of the law. There is no need to talk about conscious or unconscious.

This author thinks that the Guangdong authorities should rescind the ban on watching Hong Kong television programs. At the same time they should strengthen criticism work, discussing and analyzing with the audience how to sort out the wheat from the chaff in order to make people really "benefit" from watching Hong Kong television. On the other hand, the authorities should run their own socialist television stations well, bring into play the superiority of socialism in fair competition and win the support of the audience. Otherwise, the trend of watching Hong Kong television cannot be stopped by administrative orders.

PARTY AND STATE

HISTORICAL SOURCE MATERIAL CONFERENCE VIEWS PROBLEMS

OW302202 Beijing Xinhua Domestic Service in Chinese 1147 GMT 29 Nov 80

[Excerpts] Beijing, 29 Nov (XINHUA)--The Third National Conference on Literary and Historical Source Material Work opened on 26 November. It was attended by nearly 200 literary and historical source material research workers from 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country as well as from all democratic parties and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce.

All the participants proposed that all leadership levels, the CPPCC committees at all levels and the departments concerned should attach importance to doing a good job in safekeeping literary and historical source materials. They held that many people of the older generation keep abundant literary and historical source materials in their minds, but since they are old and ill, an urgent task is to put these source materials in to safekeeping.

During the discussion, many representatives held: with the passing of time and as a result of the persecution by the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, many people of the older generation have passed away. Someone who had personally experienced the 1898 reform movement cannot be found any longer and those who had actually participated in the 1911 revolution can be counted on one hand. Veteran comrades of the early period of the founding of our party are also very few and those who are still alive are mostly over 70 and ill. Materials lost with the death of some comrades cannot be retrieved. If the materials kept by those who are still alive are not collected and put in safekeeping, the resulting loss can never be made up.

The representatives held: Since the downfall of the "gang of four," particularly after the convocation of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we have made progress in literary and historical source material work. The lively political situation of stability and unity and the implementation of all the party's policies have all contributed to laying a good foundation for and creating favorable conditions for the work of putting literary and historical source materials in safekeeping. It is not only necessary but also possible to carry out this work well.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'GONGREN RIBAO' CARRIES LIU'S CHILDREN'S MEMOIRS

OW060216 Tokyo KYODO in English 0142 GMT 6 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 6 Dec (KYODO)--Three children of the late head of state Liu Shaoqi have implicitly criticized the late Chairman Mao Zedong in their memoirs of their father.

The memoirs, written by Liu's daughters Pingping and Tingting and his son Yuan, were carried by the WORKERS DAILY, an organ paper of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, on Friday.

In the memoirs, Liu's children implicitly accused Mao of having fueled the anti-Liu campaign.

The memoirs covered incidents in detail from the first appearance of an anti-Liu wall poster in 1966 to the virtual confinement of Liu by the Red Guards in 1967.

The WORKERS DAILY will carry a sequel of the children's memoirs.

The anti-Liu storm spread nationwide immediately after the press media reported the first wall poster against Liu, the memoirs said. The poster was written by Nie Yuanzi, then lecturer on philosophy at Beijing University, and others.

Chairman Mao highly praised the anti-Liu wall poster as "the first Marxist-Leninist poster in China."

One of the major charges against Liu had been his dispatch of officials to Beijing University and two other places in 1966 to quell the Red Guards campaign.

The memoirs, however, said Chairman Mao himself had approved the dispatch of the officials. At the time, Liu tried rather to persuade the citizens demanding the dispatch of the officials not to take hasty action, the memoirs said.

At the time of the Red Guards campaign, Liu repeatedly telephoned Chairman Mao, then staying in Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province, and sought Mao's instruction, the memoirs said. But Mao gave no clear instruction, it said. Finally, Liu and Deng Xiaoping, then party secretary general, flew to Hangzhou to seek Mao's instruction, but Mao ignored their request, entrusting the handling of the campaign to Liu and Deng, the memoirs said.

After returning to Beijing, Mao convened a meeting in July 1966 and criticized Liu and Deng, it said.

In August of the same year, Chairman Mao issued an order "to fight against the commanders" and Liu dropped from the second to the eighth party ranking after the decision to name Marshal Lin Biao as a successor to Mao, the memoirs said.

While under growing criticism, Liu repeatedly said that, though he and Mao differed in opinions in some routine tasks, he had not been against the Mao line under any circumstances, the memoirs said.

When Liu was called by Mao to the Great Hall of the People in January 1967, Liu said he would step down as the head of state and appealed for the release of many accused officials, it said. But Chairman Mao did not reply to Liu's appeal and merely puffed tobacco, the memoirs said.

The current special trial of Mao's widow Jiang Qing, the late Marshal Lin Biao and their followers has taken up mainly charges on their persecution of Liu. The indictment papers, however, do not refer to the responsibility of Mao himself.

CSO: 4020

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE ON EVILS OF IN-LAWS

HK060227 Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 17 Nov 80 p 3

[Article by Meng Chu (1322 2906): "The Evil Caused by Women and Imperial In-Laws in Feudal China Times"]

[Text] Through the ages, men of insight were strongly against and detested the interference of empresses and imperial in-laws in politics. The official histories, biographies of empresses and imperial concubines and the "histories of emperor in-laws" were full of "records of the devastation done to the state by those evil women and the evil deeds and upheavals caused by imperial in-laws" ["The History of Late Han, Biographies of Empresses Book 1"]. There were "critiques" and "eulogies" to analyse the calamities they had caused; what they had done was, in fact, clear to all wise emperors and capable ministers. For example: Emperors Gaodi and Guangwu Di of the Han Dynasty established systems when they ascended the throne in order to curb the political interference of imperial in-laws. Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty wrote brilliant and wise tracts to list and stress the maladies that resulted from empress dowagers governing the nation as regents. Gu Yong of the Han Dynasty presented a petition to Emperor Yuan Di, which said: "Give the relatives of the imperial concubines as much money as they want, but never allow them to interfere in state affairs. Keep yourself away from the relatives of the empress and allow no power to them and their cliques." ("Biographies of Gu Yong and Du Ye in the History of Han Dynasty") Yao Chong, the renowned minister who helped Emperor Xuan Zong of the Tang Dynasty to revive the Kai Yuan regime, also submitted an appeal to the emperor on 10 government orders and regulations at the time. Of his 10 prohibitions 2 stated that the empress should not govern the nation as a regent, and 6 stated that imperial in-laws must not hold government posts in the key organs. They held that dictatorship by empresses, concubines and imperial in-laws was closely related to the rise of decline and peace or chaos of a dynasty and they took the warning from history. The warning from history indeed teaches posterity something important, and a summation of it is necessary.

I

Empresses mean empress dowagers, empresses or beloved imperial concubines. According to the records of the biographies of empresses and imperial concubines in official histories, and the "history of imperial in-laws," imperial in-laws were relatives of the court who had different surnames. Most of them were the relatives of the empresses and imperial concubines. The families of the married

imperial princesses were included as well. In the imperial court, the imperial in-laws, and the guest advisers, government officials and their associates attached themselves to the imperial in-laws and formed a strong political power. Such power was called the clique of the in-laws. It was also named the clique of the empress because it was directly attached to the empresses and the imperial concubines.

In ancient China, there were two ways, the official and the unofficial, to become government officials, to seize political power and enter the central organs. The official way was appointment by recommendation or through civil service examinations, or promotion to central organs on account of meritorious service, outstanding administration, ability and political integrity. In the unofficial way, the imperial in-laws were conferred noble ranks and became government officials merely because they were relatives of the empresses or imperial concubines. If a girl won the favor of the emperor, she would be made an empress or imperial concubine. Then, her family would be ennobled and members of her family such as her father, brothers and nephews would immediately enjoy a meteoric rise, become nobles and hold influential posts in the government; they were involved in decision-making in state affairs. For example, during the reign of Emperor Wudi of the Han Dynasty, an ordinary woman surnamed Wang won the emperor's favor and was made empress dowager, whereupon her mother was conferred the title of supreme ruler of Pingyuan, her brother Tianfen was made the Marquis of Wuan, minister of military affairs and prime minister, another brother Sheng was made the Marquis of Zhou Yang, and the daughter she had by her former husband was made the supreme ruler of Xiu Cheng. Another example happened during the reign of Emperor Zuanzong. Yang Guozhong, who was an ignorant and incompetent Philistine rascal, became prime minister and held scores of posts at the same time just because his cousin Yang Guifei won the favor of the emperor, and the whole family became renowned and influential. Originally the feudal system attached great importance to family status, personal background and status. However, when it came to the in-laws, they became nobles merely because they were relatives of the empresses or concubines. This is indeed ironic: the in-law clique was authorized great power in state affairs and formed a special structure in the feudal system.

The participation of the empresses and imperial concubines in state affairs, and the involvement of the in-laws in politics later led to usurpation of the throne and dictatorship by the in-law cliques. This was so called dictatorship by empresses, imperial concubines and in-laws. Liang Qichao analysed the specific conditions that produced such dictatorship. He held: the emperor was either too young and inexperienced, or no longer interested in politics, or too submissive and weak, or too violent, or too extreme. As a result he lost power. This is indeed a sound analysis. We can again group the emperors under two major categories: the first group composes those who were stupid, libidinous or tyrant, and granted power to the empress and imperial concubines and acted in collusion with each other; or else the empress or the imperial concubines made use of the emperor's favor to seduce him by their charm and thus manipulated power for personal ends. Examples can be found in the dictatorship of the imperial concubines Yang and Jia in the Western Jin Dynasty, and the favorite concubine of Emperor Gaozong of the Tang Dynasty, Wu Zetian. Emperor Zhongzong entrusted Empress Wei and a man official Shang Guan to handle state affairs. Emperor Xuan Zong was infatuated by imperial concubine Yang. The other group is composed of emperors who were both young and submissive, thus the empress dowager seized the opportunity to govern the nation as regent, and the power fell into the hands of women. Examples can be found in the Eastern Han Dynasty when six empresses, Dou, Deng, Yan, Liang, Dou

and he governed the nation as regents; and in the Qing Dynasty, dowager Cixi held court from behind the screen and monopolized power. There was a traditional idea in ancient China: "Hens cannot crow at dawn, if they do so, it will be the end of everything." The real meaning is to forbid women from interfering in government and political affairs. Such a traditional idea is obviously erroneous today. However, it was not unreasonable to say that in ancient times. At that time, women were deprived of the right to receive education, and even if they were nobles like empresses or imperial concubines, they were ignorant and ill-informed and did not possess any actual ability to govern the nation, because they lived a secluded life in the court. Therefore, in feudal society all so-called virtuous women abode by the teaching not to interfere in state affairs. Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty once discussed nation affairs with Empress Zhengsun. The empress said, "Is it possible that if women participate in national affairs it will cause great troubles to the state?" Emperor Taizong insisted that she should expound her ideas, but the empress just refused to answer. When the empress dowagers governed the nation as regents or women monopolized power and practiced dictatorship over the country, they would not personally appear in the imperial court, instead they entrusted the power to some eunuchs of powerful government officials just as empress dowager Sixi of the Qing Dynasty did. Some of them "entrusted the power to their own cliques," ("The History of the Jin Dynasty: Biography of Jia Chong") or "entrusted state affairs to their maiden families," ("The History of the Han Dynasty: Biographies of Gu Yong and Du Ye") and the in-laws monopolized power and practiced dictatorship over the state. Thus, women could extend their power with the help of the in-laws while the in-laws themselves played up to people of power and influence for they had the power delivered them by the empresses and imperial concubines. With the power and influence of the empresses and imperial concubines, the in-laws were able to usurp power, their acts were closely related to an empress's participation in national affairs. In-law politics was a form of court politics that resulted from the emperor's favor toward women and the dowager's participation in nation affairs. Let's put it this way: in-law politics was an extended form of women usurping power. Women won the favor of the emperor because of their beauty, while men became nobles because their relatives were in the court. The formation of petticoat relations of cliques and gangs and the nature of imperial court politics made the dictatorship of empresses and imperial concubines extremely corrosive, and this led to great calamities in the feudal dynasty and to the common people. Therefore, traditional historians named the usurpation of power by empresses and in-laws as evils caused by women and emperor in-laws.

II

There are several regular phenomena in the course of the formation and the development of empress and in-law politics:

First: emperors were but political puppets of the empresses and imperial concubines and in-laws who monopolized power.

The imperial court was the center of feudal power. Under normal circumstances, the emperor was the representative of the power center. Once the power was monopolized by the empresses, imperial concubines and the in-laws, most probably the emperors became political puppets.

If the empresses and imperial concubines and in-laws could interfere in the imperial power when the emperor was young and capable, most of them manipulated the emperor

by some evil means. For example Tian Fen and Dou Ying attacked each other because they had empress dowagers Wang and Dou to back them up, and so the imperial court was split into two factions. Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty was so angry that he wanted to kill both Tian and Dou, however, he was prevented by empress dowager Wang. At that time, empress dowager Dou was dead. The emperor thus killed Dou Ying and Guan Fu in order to put an end to the matter. In other cases, if the emperors were stupid and libidinous even though adult, "after they had intimate relations with women, they would agree to whatever their beloved said; if the women's beauty won the favor of the emperors, they could get everything they wanted." ("The New History of the Tang Dynasty: Biographies of Empresses and Imperial Concubines Book 1") Naturally, the emperor was nothing but the puppet of his beloved empress and imperial concubines. For example, Emperor Gaozong of the Tang Dynasty lost his power because he "indulged himself in sex in disregard his greying hair." ("The New History of the Tang Dynasty: Biography of Emperor Gaozong") Hence, Wu Zetian seized the opportunity to "have the emperor in her power and monopolized power for herself to govern the state." ("The Eulogies" in "The New History of the Tang Dynasty: Biographies of the Empresses and Imperial Concubines") Under the reign of Emperor Chengdi of the Jin Dynasty, Empress Yu governed the nation as regent, and thus executed Sima Zong, prince of Nandun. When the emperor expressed his doubts over the charges against the prince of Nandun, his mother Empress Yu hit his head with an ivory ruler in front of others and said, "Why should you say such a thing?" The timid Emperor Chengdi was stupefied. ("The Study Notes" of Wang Yinglin Vol 13) According to the record of "The History of the Jin Dynasty: Biography of Emperor Weidi," when Emperor Weidi heard the croaks of toads in the garden of Hualin, he asked his followers, "Who is making that noise, is it official or private?" When the country was in upheaval, the common people starved to death. However, Emperor Weidi was surprised to learn about this and said, "Why don't they eat pork porridge?" When such an idiot emperor fell into the hands of Jia Nanfeng who monopolized power to herself and was extremely cruel and despotic, he could only be a puppet. As for Emperors Shangdi, Andi, Shaodi, Shundi, Zhongdi, Zhidi, Huandi, and Lingdi, all of them succeeded to the throne when they were ignorant and young, so naturally, the imperial power fell into the hand of the empress dowagers.

feudal politicians and historians drew conclusions from these examples. They held: "If the empress dowagers participated in state affairs, they would disrupt the imperial court." ("The History of the Han Dynasty: Biographies of Gu, the Xias, Hou, Jing, Yi and Li") "If the in-laws were too dominating and monopolized all power for themselves, there would be no discrimination between emperors and ministers." ("The Chronological History of Cima Guang, Vol 25")

second: leading to the decline of the feudal dynasties.

In feudal dynasties, the imperial court succumbed to interference by various political forces even if the emperors and prime ministers were capable. The dictatorship of empresses and in-laws was a disruptive interference. When empresses usurped power and in-laws practiced tyranny, the dynasty was destined to decline.

In a revival period, during the reign of Emperors Zhao di and Xuandi in the Han Dynasty, at first Emperor Xuandi could be considered wise and capable, however, he entrusted his in-laws Shi Gao and Xiao Wang to administer the nation before he died. After then, beginning with Emperor Yuandi of the Western Han Dynasty,

"the state was ruled either by eunuchs or in-laws." ("The History of Ancient China" by Xia Zengyou") During the reign of Emperors Yuandi, Chengdi, Aidi and Pingdi, the Wang, Fu and Deng in-laws practiced dictatorship over the state in succession. Consequently, the power of the state sharply declined, and the dynasty collapsed after setbacks. Although Emperor Guangwu of the Eastern Han Dynasty was able to revive the country and there was a period of good order during the reign of Emperors Ming Di and Zheng Di. Ever since the Dou in-laws usurped power during the reign of Emperor He Di, empress dowager Deng ruled over the imperial court throughout the reign of Emperor Shang Di and An Di; she was in command of everything. "During the 10 years when the empress dowager held court, the state never had enough funds." ("The Study Notes of the Chronological History of Sima Guang"--Wang Fuzhi Vol 7) The latter empresses "all manipulated the state affairs from behind the screen and entrusted their father and brothers to administer the state affairs. They preferred having child emperors so that they could extend their influence in state affairs, and persecuted the capable so that they would be able to rule over the imperial court." ("The History of the Late Han Dynasty: Biography of the Empresses and Imperial Concubines" Book 1) Protracted dictatorship by in-laws corrupted the political scene of the Eastern Han Dynasty; "there was no peaceful day," and "the state was subjugated." ("Study Notes of the Chronological History by Sima Guang" Vol 7)

Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang Dynasty ruined the period of orderly peace during the reign of Kai Yuan, for he indulged himself in his love of imperial concubine Yang. This is a typical example illustrating how in-law politics could lead to the decline of a dynasty. When Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang Dynasty put down the rebellion of the Empress Wei Di's clique, the Tang Dynasty was revived. On his succession to the throne, he appointed Yao Chong and Song Jing as prime ministers. Every family was well-fed and well-clothed and the country was so prosperous that it was known as "the golden age of Kai Yuan." However, later he spoilt himself by indulging in love for concubine Yang and other beauties, and forgot about state affairs. He appointed the treacherous Li Linpu and the foolish Yang Guozhong as prime ministers, and this led to the rebellion of An Lushan and Shi Siming, after which the Tang Dynasty declined.

Third: when the interference of empresses and the in-laws came to a climax, there was a change of dynasty.

Change of dynasties happened many times over 2,000 years and there were numerous reasons for the changes. One of them was the dictatorship of the empresses and imperial concubines and in-laws. Their dictatorship corrupted the imperial court and the government got into a chaotic state. The country was then poor and weak and was in so difficult a situation that it declined. Similar examples could be found in the decline of the Eastern Han and the Western Jin dynasties. Some dynasties were subjugated directly by in-laws; for instance, Han Dynasty was conquered by Wang Mang and Wu Zetian changed the Tang Dynasty into the Zhou Dynasty.

The change of dynasty was not necessarily a bad thing. For example Liu Bang conquered the Qin Dynasty and established the Han Dynasty, and Zhu Yuanzhang drove out the Mongolians of the Yuan Dynasty and established the Ming Dynasty. They drove the evils away on behalf of the people, which was a righteous and correct deed. The Li family conquered the brutal Sui Dynasty and established the Tang

Dynasty, and the Zhao family put an end to the upheavals of the five dynasties and established the Song Dynasty. Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty and Emperor Taizu of the Song Dynasty brought peace and prosperity to the people. However, the empresses and imperial concubines and the in-laws monopolized power to usurp the dynasty by means of conspiracies. They were brutal and cruel, and entrusted their cliques to manage state affairs. They did not trust and appoint capable men to attain to the state affairs. They even slaughtered the honest and the weak and exploited the common people by cruel means. There was no peace for the people. The usurpation of power by Wang Mang in the Western Han Dynasty was the product of in-law politics. Historians called that the usurpation of the Han Dynasty by Wang Mang. Wang Mang was "extremely vicious and committed monstrous crimes by persecuting the innocents." ("The History of the Han Dynasty: Biography of Wang Mang," The eulogy) What Wang Mang had done did not push history forward, but instead pulled it backward. Wu Zetian was a typical example of empress dictatorship. Although she scored some achievements during her reign, she established her dynasty by force. "Thousands and millions were slaughtered and the whole country was smothered with blood and terror." ("The New History of the Tang Dynasty: Biographies of the Empresses and Imperial Concubines") We can never approve of her cruelty.

Fourth: no in-laws who monopolized power to themselves could escape from the fate of ruining themselves and exterminating the whole family.

The imperial in-laws were a political clique backed up by the empresses and imperial concubines. They could not stand on their own and possessed no actual power. Empresses and imperial concubines were the wives and concubines of the emperors; they themselves did not possess legal power, but had to be backed up by their emperors, and used the name of the imperial power to extend their influence. The empresses, imperial concubines and in-laws cliques were the appendages of the imperial power. Their fates could either be like Wang Mang and Wu Zetian, who took over the dynasty and established a new one; or they would be executed by the royal family and replaced by another political clique. History has clearly illustrated how a family was honored because one of the members won the favor of the emperor, but it also tells how the family was exterminated when one lost power. Once there was a new emperor, the old empress dowager had nobody to turn to, she would then lose her power or be killed, and the in-law clique would then also lose their supporters. Ever since the in-laws monopolized power and exercised tyranny, "the common people were discontented and complaints were heard everywhere." ("The History of the Late Han Dynasty: Biographies of Ligu and Dugen") "The whole country suffered." ("The History of the Late Han Dynasty: Biographies of Feng, Cen and Jia") Thus the common people would seize the chance to drive the in-laws away. Usurpation of power by empresses in feudal society was illegal. The in-law dictatorship had no political or social foundations, so they were very often easily demolished. Dictatorship by in-laws could never escape the destiny of ruining themselves and exterminating their families. The numerous notorious in-law cliques in the Eastern Han Dynasty were executed as the empress dowagers who backed them up died. Some were even executed when they were still in power, such as the Jia and Yang families in the Western Jin Dynasty, the imperial concubine Yang, and the Wu and Wei families in the Tang Dynasty. The eulogy of "The History of the Han Dynasty: Biographies of the In-Laws" said: In the prosperous years of the Han Dynasty, between the period when the Liu usurped power and the usurpation of the dynasty by Wang Mang, "only four families, namely those of the empress

dowagers of Emperors Wendi, Jindi and Wudi and Empress Qiongheng could preserve their status and maintain their families. As for the prince's concubine Shi, Empress Wang Dao and Xu Gongai, they were all killed; their families were maintained since they relied on the deceased emperors and they dared not play tyranny. The rest were either exterminated or exiled." This was shown to be a regular phenomenon.

III

The historical figures of empresses, imperial concubines and in-laws in Chinese history were not all evil. Some of them did score some achievements and we should not condemn all of them. We must analyse them specifically. For example, the Empress Lu of the Han Dynasty closely followed the policies of the deceased emperor and governed the country by doing nothing that went against nature. The in-laws Wei Qing and Huo Qubing drove out the barbarian Xiongnu in the north, and Huo Guang assisted in the administration to restore prosperity during the reign of Emperors Zhao and Xuandi. Empress Zhengsun of Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty opposed empresses, imperial concubines and in-laws interfering in state affairs. Empress Ma of Emperor Taizhu of the Ming Dynasty would not persecute people who rendered outstanding services. Some empresses, imperial concubines and in-laws made contributions to history, however, we cannot just cite those examples to affirm that interference by empresses, imperial concubines and in-laws in state affairs was good, just as we cannot cite a few outstanding figures in the feudal society as a basis for affirming the feudal system; the feudal system still has to be criticized. As a political system that was strongly tinted with palace chambers and as the appendage of the imperial power, the interference by the empresses, imperial concubines and the in-laws in politics had its special rotten, conspiratorial and cruel nature.

Rotten nature: the appointment of the capable to the court could overcome and restrain the rotten nature of the feudal system to a certain degree, so there could be enlightened politics. However, if the in-law clique interfered in state affairs because of their relations with the empresses, imperial concubines and in-laws and ruled over the country, naturally they would establish their own clique and form their own gangs to back up themselves and discriminate against the capable. For example during the reign of Emperor Yuandi of the Han Dynasty, Shi Gao assisted in state affairs, "he appointed and employed only his own advisers and friends, and relatives of his maidservants." During the reign of Emperor Aidì, the Fū were in power, "the virtuous and the capable were slandered, the ministers were falsely charged, and many outstanding people could not maintain their positions." ("The History of the Han Dynasty: Biographies of Kuang, Zhang, Kong and Ma") More absurd still, the lovers of the empresses were appointed to important positions in the imperial court. Wu Zetian made her lover Xue Huiyi the commander-in-chief of the troops. The women official Shangguān openly asked for employment in the imperial court for her lover. This was indeed rotten. These corrupt in-laws who gained power because of their relations with the empresses or imperial concubines lived in an extremely luxurious and extravagant way when they were in power, savagely oppressed the people, sold government positions to earn money for themselves, and openly accepted bribes and gifts. Thus there was no justice in society, for people were accustomed to ask for a favor to get themselves to the imperial court. Xiao Wang said to Emperor Yuandi: "When the in-laws were in power, most of them were extremely luxurious and libidinous." ("The History of the Han Dynasty: Biography of Xiao Wang") This is in fact a very good summation of a regular phenomenon.

Conspiratorial nature: the politics of the imperial court was conspiratorial politics. Most of the activities were carried out in forbidden palaces and behind bamboo screens. Entry to the palace was strictly forbidden and its ways were very secretive, thus conspiracy had its way in the palace. When there was a change of royal family, the conspiratorial nature of the empresses, imperial concubines and in-law dictatorship was particularly obvious. For example: when Emperor Zhongzong of the Tang Dynasty was poisoned and died suddenly, Empress Wei blocked the passage of information, "kept the secret and did not declare the death of the emperor." ("The History of the Tang Dynasty: Biography of Empresses and Imperial Concubines" Book 1) During the period that she "kept the secret and not declare the death of the emperor," she deployed forces to be stationed in and guard the capital, she fabricated a posthumous edict and put the crown prince on the throne so that it would be perfectly justifiable for her to "govern the nation as a regent." The empresses and in-laws placed spies and agents throughout the country to extend their power. Wu Zetian openly asked for secret information, Empress Jia ordered "her trusted followers to dress in civilian clothes and gather information outside the imperial court." ("The History of the Jin Dynasty: Biography of Zheng Hua") Empress dowager Cixi controlled Emperor Guangxu by placing spies around him so that "whenever the emperor summoned an interview with his ministers, the empress dowager ordered eunuchs to eavesdrop behind the screens." ("The Examination of the Qing Dynasty") Thus, the 1898 reform movement was sabotaged.

Cruel nature: the murders done out of jealousy in the palace were indeed cruel and savage. Jia Nanfeng once stabbed the pregnant concubine of the crown prince in the stomach, and the fetus fell to the ground at the blade of the spear. A cruel empress would kill anyone who challenged her position even if it was her own son. For example the empress dowager of the late Wei Dynasty poisoned her own son Emperor Mingdi and practiced tyranny. Wu Zetian was notorious for her cruelty. To usurp power and win the favor of the emperor, she even strangled her own daughter. When Empress Wang and the prince's concubine Xiao were dethroned and consigned to limbo, she still would not let them go. They were both flogged 200 times with a stick and their limbs were broken. She threw them upside down into barrels and gave orders to "intoxicate the bones of the two women." A few days later, Wang and Xiao died. The empresses and imperial concubines even used the same crude means to slaughter the ministers. As a matter of fact, most of the cruel officials were found during the reign of Empress Wu in the Tang Dynasty. She connived at the cruel officials Zhou Xing and Lai Junchen in framing false charges and throwing many people into prison, and everyday many people were put to death. Tens and hundreds of ministers were "lined up and slaughtered like sheep and pigs." Furthermore, she dispatched attorney generals to the prefectures of Jiang Nan and central Guizhou, and "killed all the officials banished from the court and those in exile, as if they had not killed enough." ("Notes on the Studies of the 22 History Books" Vol 17 by Zhao Yi) Even her own son Li Hong, Li Xian, her grandsons and son-in-laws were persecuted, she was extremely cruel.

In a word, the politics of the Chinese patriarchal, feudal autocratic society was corrupt and rotten, conspiratorial and cruel in nature. Generally speaking, the periods of dictatorship by empresses, imperial concubines and the in-laws were the darkest periods, which thoroughly exposed the rotten, conspiratorial and cruel nature of the feudal autocratic society.

Interference by empresses, imperial concubines and in-laws in politics had long coexisted with the feudal autocratic system from the Qin Dynasty till the end of the Qing Dynasty some 2,000 years later. It was one of the characteristics of the Chinese feudal autocratic system. Although precautions were taken against their interference in many dynasties, their influence was still there. Although empresses, imperial concubines and in-laws were killed, another group would crop up. Just like terminal-stage cancer, they spread so fast that there was no permanent cure for them. This has shown that unless the feudal autocratic system was uprooted and the monarchy abolished, the empresses, imperial concubines and in-law dictatorships would be revived in a new guise, stir up great troubles and bring about great calamities. All this has given us a lesson on the evils brought about by the empresses, imperial concubines and in-laws. We must seriously guard against them.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

FORUM ON 'IDEALIST' PHILOSOPHY CLOSES IN ZHEJIANG

OW021422 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 00 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] According to a station report, the forum on the idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming Dynasties, jointly sponsored by the east China chapter of the China Society of the History of Philosophy and the Provincial Social Sciences Institute closed in Hangzhou after a week in session. This was the first forum on the idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming Dynasties since the founding of the nation.

(Feng Xi), director of the east China branch of the China Society of the History of Philosophy, delivered a speech at the forum. He pointed out: The idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming Dynasties is of particular importance to east China. (Chen Bingqing), deputy director of the Propaganda Department under the provincial CCP Committee, also delivered a speech at the forum. Attending the forum were more than 180 people including professors and specialists from east China, Beijing and various provinces and municipalities, members of various philosophy research institutes and foreign scholars. Theses with a total of 500,000 words were submitted to the forum. (Qiu Hansheng) and (Deng Anmin), and others also spoke at the forum.

They all believed: The school of idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming Dynasties ruled the later stage of China's feudal society for as long as 700 years. The current study of the idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming Dynasties is of great significance in inheriting cultural legacies with a critical attitude and in eliminating the pernicious influence of feudal ideas. The specialists and researchers also studied Zhu Xi's thought and its role in history and Wang Yangming's theory on innate knowledge as well as methods on how to study the idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming Dynasties.

The book entitled: "The Study of Wang Yangming's Thinking" by (Shen Shanghong) and (Wang Fengqing) is a provincial academic achievement in studying the idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming Dynasties. Specialists and scholars attending the forum praised this book highly.

The idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming Dynasties also has deep influence abroad. Japanese scholar (Sukeo Fukizawa) and historian (Akira Ken) have each described how the idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming Dynasties is being studied in Japan, Europe and the United States.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PEASANTS URGED TO PROMOTE COLLECTIVE, SIDELINE PRODUCTION

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Oct 80 p 2

[Article by Da Fengquan [6671 7685 0356]: "Let the Spring Breeze Blow"]

[Text] "Boundless grasses over the plain come and go with every season; wildfire never quite consumes them; they are tall once more in the spring wind." This well-known poem by Bai Juyi of the Tang Dynasty, which extols the physical capacity of wild grasses to survive any hardships and which revive with the advent of every spring season following wintry hibernation, reminds me of the household sideline production in rural villages, which like the grasses in the plain, revives again in the spring wind and rain following a wildfire.

The commune household sideline production was once condemned as the "capitalist tail" and was therefore restricted and banned in our country. Today, as a necessary complement to the socialist economy, it is permitted to exist and grow again. This is a very significant change that has taken place in the rural economy in the wake of the criticism of the ultraleft line. I am delighted to see that the ending of that wildfire across the land has brought to life those "lush grasses" in our vast countryside.

In recent years, the rural household sideline production has resumed and developed as a result of the development of the collective production. Nevertheless, we must also be aware that no effective measures have been taken by some localities to encourage and support the development of the household sideline production. Although slogans have been issued to promote it, substantial aid and guidance are nowhere in sight. Authorities concerned are still indifferent to the development of this production. What worries commune members most is their action to restrict it in various crafty ways. As a result, the enthusiasm generated by the party's policy has been suppressed, causing damage to the development of the household sideline production. This fact shows that mere slogans without action will get nowhere, the leave-it-alone attitude must be discarded, and urgent measures must be taken to encourage and support the development of the household sideline production. It appears that the move to annihilate the wildfire must be followed by actions to breathe new life into sideline production. The key to success in bringing about this change lies in the ability of leading groups at all levels to overcome apprehension resulting from the development of the household sideline production. Why should they look forward to this development with apprehension?

It was reported that if commune members are given a free hand to develop sideline production, it may tamper with the development of the collective production and tarnish the superiority of the collective economy. Actually, this worry is not justified. For example, Changsha Commune of Kai County in Sichuan Province has scored a dual success in developing collective production on the one hand and sideline production on the other. Changsha Commune, a well-known orange and tangerine producing center, attributed this success to its new policy of helping commune members develop collective and sideline production simultaneously. To boost sideline production, it has provided them with seedlings of perennial crops, assisted them in growing fruit trees, set aside special plots for growing feed crops, set time for them to work on sideline production, and supplied them with fertilizer at reasonable prices. In this way, commune members have been encouraged to raise more pigs and produce more oranges and tangerines. An increase in the output of pigs has made more organic manure available for growing crops, thus effectively resolving contradictions resulting from acute competition between collectives and individual commune members and between crop growers and fruit plantation owners for manure. Furthermore, the per-unit grain output has also increased considerably. In 1979, this commune's total grain output was 42 percent more than in 1976; per-capita income from collective production and from growing oranges and tangerines and raising pigs increased by 112 and 48 yuan respectively.

With this rising income, commune members are now all smiles, and are more willing than ever to promote agricultural production, thus giving new impetus to the collective economy. Facts show that rural economy is an integrated economic system; the development of commune household sideline production is dependent on the growth of the collective economy, while the former can give strong support to the latter. The two are interconnected. If they are handled properly, they can become more and more mutually supportive and more forward to complement each other. Changsha Commune's comrades have displayed courage to develop the collective economy on the one hand, and have taken effective measures to encourage and support commune members to develop household sideline production on the other. Their successful experiences in this field deserve our promotion, and their spirit of seeking truth from facts merits our commendation.

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PRC'S NEW ECONOMIC POLICY BRINGS HOPES TO NORTH SHAANXI

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Oct 80 p 2

[Newsletter by RENMIN RIBAO correspondent He Jiazheng [0149 0502 2973]: "The Confidence and Hope of Peasants in North Shaanxi"]

[Text] Whenever I went in north Shaanxi, I felt that this loess plateau plagued by poverty for years is undergoing changes as a result of the implementation of the policies for the countryside. Although such changes are not too astonishing and north Shaanxi is still confronted with numerous difficulties, it can be said that this famous pocket of poverty has found a direction in which it can move forward, and look to the future with hopes.

A Bright Future

At one end of a turbulent river, I climbed a denuded mountain. Soon I saw a few shabby caves sheltering a number of households which make up the Qudai Brigade, known for its poverty in Yanan Municipality. I sighed in seeing such an impoverished place surrounded by denuded cliffs. Soon I was surrounded by many smiling faces and was told that "we are now eager to work; as long as the present government policies continue in effect, good days are sure to come a few years from now."

Why were people living in such a hopeless place so optimistic? The reason is that these impoverished souls have seen a ray of hope through the implementation of the party's present policies. The trip also took me to many other poor villages similar to Qudai. Typical is the Sunjiahe Brigade of Zichang County where the residents were also very poor, partly subsisting on food grains and partly on wild vegetables. Each adult could earn 0.3 or 0.5 yuan daily. Over the years, over 40 residents had to leave their homes, and eked out a living somewhere else. Last year, the brigade was hit by another prolonged drought. Despite this, 38 of them returned home last spring, saying that as long as the present policies continue in force, they could expect better days to come and were looking forward to the future with hopes. Old man Chen Yuru [7115 3768 1172] cheerfully told me: Since the work teams were disbanded, private plots were returned to their original owners, and commune members were permitted to raise their own pigs and cattle, they now know what is in store for them in the future. They said that they will have no trouble making ends meet this year, will be able to pay off their old debts next year and build new homes for themselves the year after.

A Turning Point

This loess plateau is dotted by yellowish clay dunes everywhere. Is there any hope for development at this plateau plagued by drought and poor soils even after the economic policy is liberalized? Pressed for an answer to this question, a comrade in north Shaanxi said to me: There are soils everywhere in this vast and sparsely populated land. We can grow crops, plant trees, and grazing grass and raise cattle and sheep out there. There is a great economical potential to be tapped. The simultaneous development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, and sideline production in north Shaanxi is very hopeful, if we can utilize this land to the best advantage and do everything in a manner appropriate to the local conditions.

While in north Shaanxi, I found that many units have played an exemplary role in improving their economic well-being, and in bringing new hopes to this region. For example, Liulin Brigade of Yanan Municipality has stepped up the farm capital construction in an effort to increase the per-unit output and lay a groundwork for retiring certain low yielding fields and for transforming them into forest and pastoral areas for growing grazing grass and trees and for developing sideline production. Last year, it grossed over 380,000 yuan, a third of which came from sideline production; its per-capita income, public savings, and grain reserves were 181 yuan, 700,000 yuan and 240,000 jin, respectively. It has established a film projection team and opened a close-circuit television room and built and put into operation cooperative medical service centers and schools. For years, under the influence of the ultraleft line, north Shaanxi had adopted the same national pattern of the economic development without taking into account the local conditions, which differ in many ways from the rest of the country. In this way, it was prevented from demonstrating its own prowess to develop the economy. Since 1978, a tax cut approved by the state for north Shaanxi has enabled it to develop agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry simultaneously. This year, Zichang and Mizhi counties have been successful in growing grazing grass in 80,000 mu of land and 70,000 mu of land respectively, thanks to that tax cut. On the basis of suggestions from various sources, the Shaanxi Provincial Party and the North Shaanxi Capital Construction Committee have proposed to "develop agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry simultaneously, and to gradually retire certain low-yielding fields and concentrate on growing crops in high-yielding land." This economic policy has been endorsed by the masses.

Seek Truth From Facts

Many communes and brigades in north Shaanxi have instituted some new systems suitable to the local conditions on the basis of the documents issued by the central authorities. A typical example is the Mengjiaping Brigade in Mizhi County, a brigade which has 16 households and 310 mu of farmland. For years, it had failed to increase production, causing the masses there economic difficulties. Since 1979, radical changes have taken place in that brigade as a result of the implementation of two agricultural documents issued by the central authorities and the adoption of the system of division of responsibility for production as suggested by its party branch secretary Meng Shiming [1322 1102 2494]. Pointing at their newly purchased bicycles and sewing machines, commune members cheerfully said: "We never dreamed that good days could come so soon." How could north Shaanxi make such a remarkable progress? They attributed this success mainly to local basic level cadres' persistent efforts to seek truth from facts and take actual conditions into account.

A radical change has also taken place in the way of thinking among the many basic level cadres in north Shaanxi, who have displayed courage to seek truth from facts. Comrades in Yanan Municipality said: In the past, "units at lower levels often exaggerated their achievements in reports to their higher authorities, which often assigned them production quotas unlikely to be fulfilled." Under the influence of the political movement, instances of insubordination never occurred to the bureaucracy there. Today, this malpractice is gone. Statistical figures on achievements in farm capital construction and in growing trees and grazing grass included in a report to the higher authorities last year have been verified by facts. This change in the way of thinking has proven essential to success in agricultural production.

Hope

North Shaanxi has taken an initial step for changes. Nevertheless, it still faces many practical difficulties that need to be overcome. It still faces shortages of food grains. Although north Shaanxi can count on the state for a supply of food grains, in the long run, it must rely on its own efforts to solve such shortages. Comrades of some communes and brigades have suggested that the following measures be taken to improve the economy of north Shaanxi:

First, it is necessary to concentrate efforts on growing crops in high yielding fields, to promote farm capital construction and scientific farming as a step in raising the per-unit output. Careful and active consideration must be given to retiring certain low-yielding fields; edible oil and meat should be considered as equally important as grains.

Second, some ways must be found to alleviate the shortages of funds. Although the state has given strong financial support to north Shaanxi, thus far, almost no funds have been earmarked for developing forestry and animal husbandry. Comrades there hope that the state will delegate to north Shaanxi greater power to use its funds for developing that loess plateau.

Third, commercial circulation needs to be improved. For example, when two communes in Yanan wanted to sell their surplus grain to the state as a result of bumper harvests last year, they were inexplicably rejected by a food department. Some brigades were not paid the right prices for surplus grains sold to the state. Last year, some 300,000 or 400,000 jin of apples in Fengzhuang commune could not be shipped out of the area because of lack of transportation. Some agricultural products which were accepted by food departments yesterday might be rejected today. The masses there said: "We are still in the dark as to what the state really wants." The cadres and people in north Shaanxi earnestly hope that service of this kind can be strengthened so that north Shaanxi can take a giant step forward in production.

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CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BA YI RADIO COMMENTS ON PLA CADRES AND TRIALS

PLA Men Unhappy About Trial

OW291611 BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 28 Nov 80

[Text] Judging by reports on ideological trends received by the General Political Department, the vast numbers of commanders and fighters are very skeptical and unhappy about the trial of five former principal leaders of the PLA. Some comrades are of the opinion that denying the right of the former principal leaders of the PLA to cite relevant important documents and records of conversations for their own defense cannot be regarded as legal.

An example is the indictment of Wu Faxian on charges that acting on Lin Biao's instructions he appointed Lin Liguo deputy director of the general office and deputy chief of operations of the air force headquarters. Wu Faxian admitted this. But, at a preliminary hearing, he pointed out that the appointment was made according to Chairman Mao's instruction and that Lin Biao merely passed on Chairman Mao's order. Therefore, Wu Faxian asked the court to make public during his trial the instructions of Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou on Lin Liguao's assignment, which are on file at the air force headquarters. Wu Faxian has the right to defend himself with these documents. However, the second tribunal refused to look into these documents, saying that it was meaningless to examine the words and deeds of people already dead and that Wu Faxian should be held fully responsible for Lin Liguao's assignment to the important positions. In no way can the second tribunal's action be regarded as objective and fair.

Many take exception to the indictment of Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and Jiang Tengjiao as principal culprits, equating them with Jiang Qing and company. Particularly unhappy about this are those comrades who worked together with Huang, Qiu, Li and Jiang during the cultural revolution and understood them. It is only natural, for as the court is trying our army's former principal leaders on charges that they engaged in so-called counterrevolutionary criminal activities, a certain person, with motives that cannot bear the light of day, can now accuse cadres at any level, who were under their commands, of having directly participated in counterrevolutionary criminal activities. And the formal decision of the Supreme People's Procuratorate--that, besides the 10 principal culprits, the other accomplices involved in the case will be tried separately according to the circumstances and that public prosecution against them will be instituted with the Supreme People's Court, local people's courts and military courts--has caused even greater agitation among the vast numbers of military cadres. The decision has in

effect given the power to a certain person to punish at will any cadre involved in the cultural revolution who were under the commands of the five leaders.

However, it is not fair to blame all the cadres of the PLA for carrying out the "three support's and two military's" tasks. The army's involvement in the cultural revolution and intervention in party and government work was entirely based on orders of the chairman of the military commission. Therefore, the responsibility should be borne completely by the supreme commander. Certainly the responsibility for the crime should not be passed on to our army's cadres at various levels. It is even more wrong to use the law as a means to get even with personal enemies and vent personal spite.

However, a certain person is ignoring the facts and willfully exaggerating the issue of so-called Lin Biao's sworn followers hiding in the army. For example, not long ago Vice Chairman Deng said: because some cadres have not thoroughly resolved the problem of their feelings for the Lin Biao clique and are ideologically tied in a hundred and one ways with Lin Biao and company, a new wave of ideological confusion has emerged in the army. It is imperative to continue to eliminate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao in the army.

Moreover, a certain person has also spread rumors and slanders with ulterior motive, alleging that the time bomb which exploded in the Beijing railway station not long ago was (?secretly) brought to the railway station by some cadres of Beijing PLA units, that it was originally intended to be placed on Vice Chairman Deng's special train in a plot to assassinate Comrade Deng Xiaoping, and so on and so forth.

A certain person is trying to use such sinister methods to create a tense atmosphere, while our army's former principal leaders are on trial, to stir up people's dissatisfaction and hostility toward the army in order to apply greater pressure on the army and strike blows at those army cadres whom he does not like. In short, in its history of over 50 years, the army has never been suppressed, (?despised), persecuted and attacked as it is today. Therefore, the extremely demoralized state today of our army's commanders and fighters, especially cadres at the middle and upper levels, is by no means accidental.

Cadres Retiring Under Protest

(W020213 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] In his speech at a recent enlarged meeting of the CCP Central Committee's military commission, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: I have been told that a number of veteran army comrades have recently retired in order to relinquish their posts in favor of those better qualified. This is a good thing to which we should give wide publicity.

However, we should view this "good thing" from two aspects: as far as those who wish to drive all army veteran cadres out of office are concerned, the more they retire or leave their posts, the better. For those people, it would be ideal if all army veteran cadres retire or leave their posts.

However, viewing from the other aspect, as Comrades Huang Kecheng, Xiao Hua and Zhang Tingfa have said, it cannot be regarded as a "good thing" when veteran army cadres are retiring or leaving their posts one after another at a time when Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and Jiang Tengjiao are being tried and other defendants interrogated. This view is entirely correct.

Huang Huoqing announced that, except for the principal defendants, other offenders will be tried separately. After proceedings were instituted against offenders before the supreme people's courts, local courts and military tribunals, especially after the special court again trying the principal defendants, those who are not eligible for retirement or who did not plan to retire for a few years began submitting their requests for retirement. In less than a month, many cadres at the corps and division levels alone have retired--81 from the Guangzhou PLA units, 79 from the Nanjing PLA units, 76 from the Shenyang PLA units, 64 from the Kunming PLA units, 91 from the Beijing PLA units and 24 from the Xinjiang PLA units. This situation in various services is similar.

It cannot but be noted that, except for a small number of the above veteran comrades who are indeed old and infirm and whose abilities have fallen short of the requirements for army work, most of them have retired or left their posts mainly for the following two reasons:

1. They are greatly dissatisfied with the present trial because the truth and the then objective circumstances have not been considered, and criminal liability has been exaggerated. They have retired to protest the trial.

2. When the 10 principal defendants are sentenced, military tribunals will start investigating and trying thousands of army cadres. A preliminary estimate shows that the army cadres directly or indirectly implicated number as many as over 13,000. In addition, those whose crimes are not serious enough to be tried will be dealt with in the 3-year process of purifying the party, which will begin next year.

All this has naturally caused fears among our army cadres, especially among those at the middle and higher levels. Therefore, old cadres want to retire or leave their posts earlier than planned in order to escape from increasing mental pressure. Other cadres can only wish that that person on the military commission of the CCP Central Committee will retire earlier through implementation of the party Central Committee's decision to abolish the system of lifelong tenure of office for leading cadres. In this way, the CCP Central Committee and its military commission will be able to adopt a correct policy in solving questions left over from history.

Tolin Biao Conspiracy Trials

CW040324 (Clanestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 3 Dec 80

[Text] The PLA units under all military regions have already started preparations for trying other criminals in the case of the so-called Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. That is to say, they have started carrying out the decision by the Supreme People's Procuratorate to hold trials according to varying conditions for criminals other than the 10 principal culprits, and to respectively institute proceedings against them at the Supreme People's Court, local people's courts and (military tribunals.)

Moreover, Vice Chairman Deng recently said: affectionally, some cadres at PLA units have not yet made a clear break with the Lin Biao clique; ideologically, they still maintain close links with the clique. We should eliminate the pernicious influence left by Lin Biao at PLA units.

These remarks of Deng are precisely an instruction requiring PLA units to conduct a new purge among their cadres. This sort of political persecution has caused great uneasiness and misgivings among the broad masses of cadres in our army. In view of endless quibbling over this question by certain people at the central authorities, comrades one after another made requests for retirement and demobilization.

In addition, according to classified reports received by the PLA general staff department and the party military commission, cadres in some military regions and at PLA units stationed at border provinces made excuses to leave their units, disappear or desert their duties since they fear being implicated during the trials. Among these cases the most serious one involves a stealthy escape from the country that occurred with the coastal defense force in the Shandong peninsula. Late at night, bearing arms and driving three motorboats, seven cadres of the force fled from Shibao to the high seas. Two of them went to South Korea for shelter, and the whereabouts of the other five is still unknown. According to relevant reports by the coastal defense force, the seven cadres always actively took part in the tasks of three support's and two military's given to the PLA during the cultural revolution. Since the trial of the Lin Biao incident started in the capital, they have been sternly criticized at the force, and the materials regarding their trials were delivered to a military tribunal.

With respect to an incident at the Guanzhou PLA units, its scale and impact far exceed those of the incident of the fleeing abroad of the coastal defense force members; 480 cadres and fighters bore arms and ammunition and fled to Guangxi's Shiwang Dashan Mountain. This serious mutiny is the 2d of its kind over the past 30 years since the founding of our people's republic. One major cause of the incident is that some people charged many cadres at the units with being culprits in connection with Huang Yongsheng's conspiracy to stage an armed coup d'etat.

Large numbers of troops have now been mustered to encircle and suppress the cadres and fighters scattered on the Shiwang Dashan Mountain. However, their greatest crime is their taking flight when they feared being implicated in the trials. Judging from any aspect, it is improper to resort to force or make merciless suppression in handling incidents of troops.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PRC NATIONAL MEETING DISCUSSES PEASANT EDUCATION

OWD10801 Beijing XINHUA in English 0720 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 1 Dec (XINHUA)--Eighteen million Chinese peasants are studying in various kinds of spare-time cultural and technical classes, and interest in education of this kind is growing.

At a recent national meeting on peasant education, participants discussed how to provide peasants with more channels to raise their educational and technical level to meet the needs of the country's agricultural modernization. They stressed popularization of agro-technical knowledge, in addition to the general knowledge and literacy classes offered in the past.

Spare-time cultural and technical classes are now set up by the three levels of rural collective--the people's communes, production brigades and teams. The more advanced county run agro-technical schools offer two or three-year courses of study which include Chinese language, mathematics, agricultural technique and agricultural machinery, health and medicine and accounting. Often technical centers and regular secondary schools provide the teaching staff. Sometimes short-term training classes are given according to farming seasons.

In addition, secondary schools at the countryside have also begun adding agro-technical classes to the curriculum.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'XINHUA' CARRIES PRC EDUCATIONAL NEWS IN BRIEF

OWD21224 Beijing XINHUA in English 1209 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 2 Dec (XINHUA)--More than 1,100 students have been enrolled in the just-resumed correspondence college of the People's University of China which is to begin 13 December after nearly 15 years of suspension.

Mostly factory and office workers under 35, they will study in the four disciplines of industrial management, commercial economy, Chinese literature and journalism respectively, each for 3 years.

A night college of law has been set up in Beijing with a first enrollment of 150 students. The students will in 4 years study 21 compulsory courses as required in full-time law faculty.

The college is jointly run by the Beijing Municipal Judicial Bureau and the Beijing branch of the Jiushan Society with the assistance of the law faculty of Beijing University.

Music will again be included in the curriculum of the middle schools in east China's Anhui Province. This was decided upon at a recent meeting called by the Provincial Education Department.

Music lessons in China's schools were arbitrarily stopped in mid-1966. They were resumed in the past few years first in primary schools and some middle schools in major cities.

The "GUANGMING DAILY" carries a reader's letter urging the addition of calligraphy lessons in middle and primary schools. The hand-writing of many of our young people, including middle school graduates, is very poor, the letter complains, because they did not have proper guidance and regular training at school.

YOUTH MUST FACE HISTORICAL TASK

OW061221 Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 6 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 6 Dec (XINHUA)—A "CHINA YOUTH NEWS" editorial urges the country's young generation to fulfill the task that history entrusts to them with the same dedication as their predecessors in the Chinese Youth Movement showed in their times.

"Each generation has its particular work to do. For the present young generation, their task is to achieve the four modernisations and build socialism in China," the editorial says.

Honoring the two anniversaries of the student movements of 9 December 1935 and 1 December 1945, led by the Chinese Communist Party in the Kuomintang-controlled areas to resist imperialist aggression and oppose Kuomintang reaction, the editorial points out that these struggles lighted the fire of patriotism and dedication in tens of thousands of young people, who went to the battlefield to fight for national independence and liberation.

New China has ended once for all the social system of exploitation, established the socialist system of public ownership, and built up considerable material strength for socialist construction. It is true that due to a number of reasons the superiority of the socialist system has not yet been fully developed, but we have laid the basis for further advance, says the editorial.

Now with the party's decisions on reforming the economic system, government management and cadres system and reforming party leadership, a new current has appeared that is rallying all forces to work for the modernisation program, strengthen democracy and legal system, and revive and promote the fine tradition of the party. "This is an unconquerable current which reflects the will of the party as well as the desire of the youth," the editorial stresses. To carry out the party decisions on reform, supervision and support from the people are essential. The youth should be an active force in this. Any attempt to depart from party leadership while pursuing democracy and freedom can only fall into destructive acts, as the chaotic decade had shown.

China is facing a turning point of the new superseding the old, the editorial says. Setbacks of the past have caused losses, but they will lend lessons to future success. Everybody realizes that hard work is needed. Only irresponsible persons are demanding that a solution to all problems be found overnight.

The national paper places great hope on the young people and urges them to play a positive role in developing the country's economy, carrying out reforms, and helping the party and government to do away with bureaucracy and bad styles of work.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HEILONGJIANG CANVASSES FOLK SONGS OF MINORITIES

OWD70239 Beijing XINHUA in English 0230 GMT 7 Dec 80

[Text] Harbin, 7 Dec (XINHUA)--Heilongjiang Province in northeast China is systematically collecting ballads and folk songs of the nine minority nationalities living in the province, reflecting a new nationwide interest in studying and preserving minority cultures.

A team of specialists travelled around fishing villages of the Hezhe people. With a population of more than 800, the Hezhe is one of the smallest minority groups in China. They are fishermen or hunters living in compact communities in two people's communes on the Heilongjiang River and in another commune on the Wusuli River. They sing folk songs at festival times, and the older generation passes on ballads to youngsters which incorporate singing, dialogue and commentary. The Hezhe nationality has no written language.

The team recorded five Hezhe narrative ballads and more than ten folk songs, and also discovered that the Hezhe were using a primitive kind of mouth organ, a small fish-shaped instrument made of steel bands which gives both merry and deep tones.

The team included representatives from the Literature Institute under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the Heilongjiang branch of the China Society for the Study of Folk Literature and Art and the Heilongjiang branch of the Chinese Musicians Association.

More teams will be going to other minority areas.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PRC HISTORICAL DATA COMMITTEE MEETS

OW081256 Beijing XINHUA in English 1241 GMT 8 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 8 Dec (XINHUA)--The Third Conference of China's National Historical Data Research Committee has called on people of all walks of life--particularly old people--to write about their recollections of important events that have occurred in China since the reform movement of 1898.

The committee, which operates under the Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee (CPPCC), ended its conference over the weekend.

The conference agreed that historical events should be viewed against as wide a social background as possible.

Some members mentioned specifically the value of contributions from intellectuals, former capitalists and businessmen, leaders of China's many nationalities, religious leaders and Chinese people now living overseas.

Some members of the meeting spoke of a pressing need to record the recollections of old people before they are lost for ever.

The Data Research Committee is composed of veterans of China's revolutionary movement, members of the Chinese Communist Party and of China's democratic political parties.

Fifty-five volumes of such data were published between 1959 and 1966.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ANHUI CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION HOLDS MEETING, ELECTS OFFICIALS

0W042122 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Dec 80

[Text] The Anhui Provincial Catholic Patriotic Association recently held the second meeting of its representatives in Hefei municipality, according to a report by the staff of this station.

Beaming with joy, Catholic bishops, fathers, clergymen, sisters and representatives of Catholic believers, 43 people altogether came from all parts of the province and discussed the independence of Catholicism and how to rely on its own efforts to run Catholic churches in the province.

The meeting called on the Catholic elders and fellow believers throughout Anhui to continuously advance the spirit of patriotism; to persist in the principle of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in one's own hands and relying on one's own efforts to run churches; and to take the road of loving their country and their religion. Efforts should be made to help the government implement the policy of religious freedom; to adhere to the policies, laws and decrees of the state consciously; to uphold stability and unity; and to guard against a few bad elements' illegal use of religions to start rumors, deceive the masses, sow discord and create a split among the general public.

The meeting elected the second committee of the Anhui Provincial Catholic Patriotic Association and the Provincial Catholic Affairs Committee. (Zhou Yuzai) was elected chairman of the Provincial Catholic Patriotic Association and chairman of the Provincial Catholic Affairs Committee. (Lu Yusheng), (Wang Dai), (Bai Zhaosheng) and (Lu Yungfei) were elected vice chairmen of the Provincial Catholic Patriotic Association with (Bai Zhaosheng) as concurrent secretary general. (Wang Dai), (Cheng Biyao) and (Yang Ti) were elected vice chairmen of the Provincial Catholic Affairs Committee, and (Fang Antong) was elected secretary general of the committee.

CS0: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ANHUI CHRISTIANS HOLD MEETING, INAUGURATE ASSOCIATION

OWO42231 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Dec 80

[Text] According to a report by this station's staff, the Second Provincial Meeting of Christians in Anhui was held recently in Hefei municipality. Fifty-five godmothers, godchildren and representatives of Christians from all parts of the province happily gathered under the same roof. They discussed in earnest the Christian church's current pressing tasks, adopted a revised charter of the Anhui Provincial Christian "(Sanzi)" Patriotic Movement Committee and elected the second committee of the Provincial Christian "(Sanzi)" Patriotic Movement.

The Anhui Provincial Christian Association was inaugurated at the meeting, and the participants adopted the association's constitution.

(Pan Junxiang) was elected chairman of the Provincial Christian "(Sanzi)" Patriotic Movement Committee and president of the Provincial Christian Association. (Dan Puan) and (Cai Chongfen) were elected vice chairmen of the Provincial Christian "(Sanzi)" Patriotic Movement Committee with (Xu Fumin) as the committee's secretary general. (Fan Minzuo) and (Cai Chongfen) were elected vice presidents of the Provincial Christian Association with (Xu Fumin) as the association's executive secretary.

The meeting urged Christians throughout the province to unite as one; to adhere persistently to the principle of relying on their own efforts in administering and supporting Christian church affairs and in preaching Christian teachings; to join the people of the country in working with one heart and one mind; and to make still greater contributions to achieving the country's four modernizations, realizing the return of Taiwan to the motherland, combating hegemonism and safeguarding world peace.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'WANBAO' STRESSES IMPORTANCE OF EXPERTS

HK220531 Beijing WANBAO in Chinese 6 Nov 80 p 1

[Article by editorial board: "The Four Modernizations Need Experts"]

[Text] In a certain period of time in the past, some comrades were proud to be "uncouth fellows." In fact, they misunderstood the meaning of "uncouth fellows."

So-called "uncouth fellows" refer to people who have low cultural level and no professional knowledge. At the time of liberation, many illiterates existed in our distressed motherland and this was the hallmark of backwardness created by the semifeudal and semicolonial society. Therefore, there was no reason for people to be proud of having no culture and no professional knowledge.

Some other comrades posed as "uncouth fellows" and equated "uncouth fellows" with the revolutionary history of fighting north and south on many fronts. The comrades who rendered meritorious military service in founding the new China should be respected by all people. However, not all revolutionaries who gained battle achievements were "uncouth fellows." Many leading comrades of our party and army have very high cultural level and are statesmen, strategists, philosophers, economists, jurists and at the same time poets and educationists. Many comrades who were promoted from the grassroots might have had a low cultural level originally but, after they were trained and educated by the party and studied hard by themselves, attained certain cultural and professional levels. In the war of liberation, if the cadres of our party were not expert in waging war and doing mass work, could they have won war?

Since the founding of the new China, the problem is that as we have shifted the focal point of work to economic construction, many leading cadres who cannot rely on their original knowledge must study new topics. Our party has therefore proposed that we should be good at study and become experts in our own work. Thirty years have elapsed. Many comrades have become experts but some comrades still lack rudimentary knowledge. What shall we do? It is impossible for us to pose as "uncouth fellows." There are two methods: 1) except for the old and weak, all young and energetic people must be determined to study and become experts in a given time; 2) we must be determined to promote to leading cadres those who are red and expert and have both ability and political integrity so that the experts can lead the experts.

The four modernizations need expert staff and workers, and need the leadership of experts even more.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

NEI MONGGOL RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY--The Hohhot Municipal Buddhist Administrative Committee held a religious ritual 2 December in Hohhot municipality to celebrate the 623d birthday of the founder of Lamaism. Such religious activities had been banned since 1962 and were restored after the state's policies on nationalities and religions were implemented. Thousands of religious figures recited and chanted scriptures at the ritual. Among them were E-Qi-Er-Hu-Ya-Ke-Tu, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Nei Monggol Regional People's Congress, and responsible persons from Islamic, Catholic and Christian organizations. [SK041222 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 3 Dec 80]

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